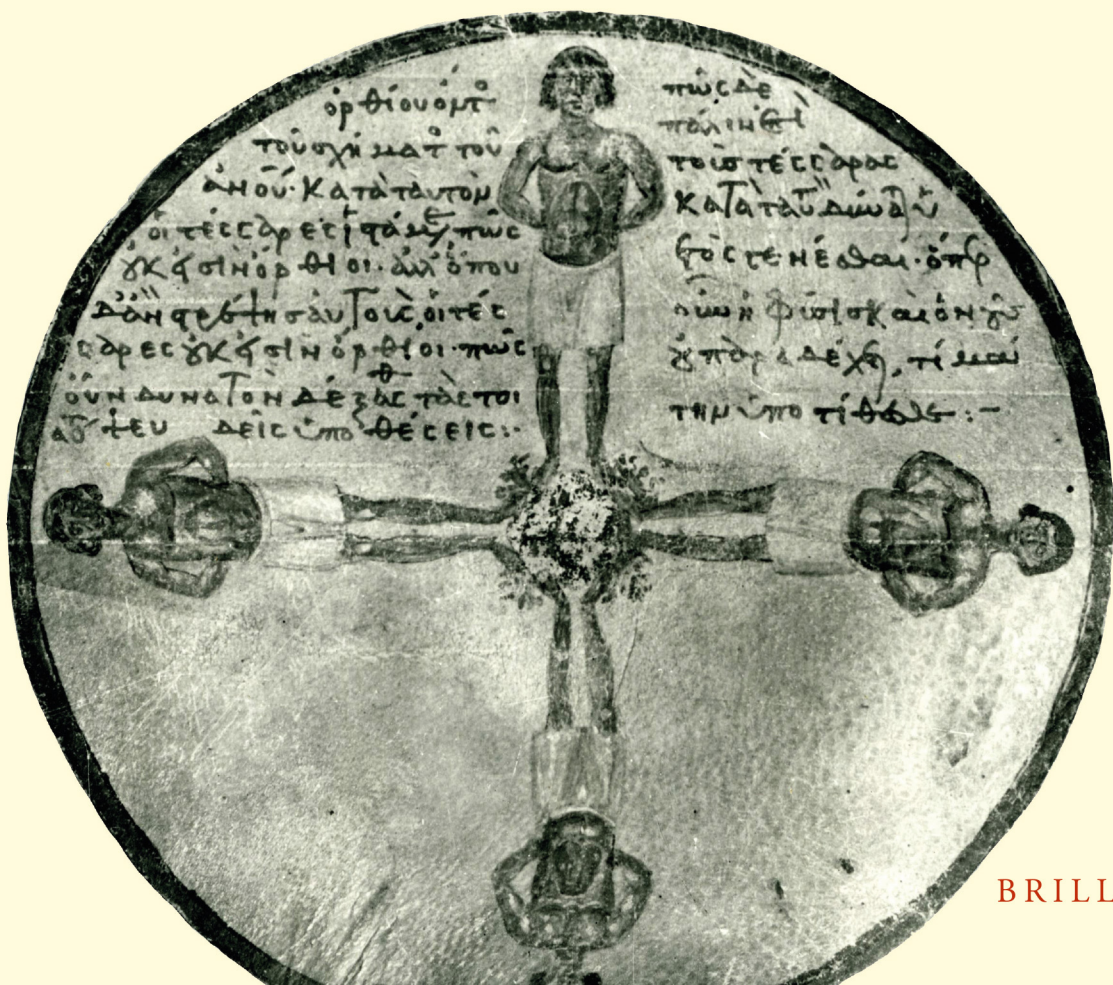


BYZANTINA AUSTRALIENSIA

THE RISE AND FALL OF NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS

FIVE CONTEMPORARY TEXTS IN
ANNOTATED TRANSLATIONS

Denis Sullivan



BRILL

The Rise and Fall of Nikephoros II Phokas

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Preface

On August 16, 963, Nikephoros II Phokas entered the city of Constantinople in triumph as its new emperor, acclaimed by the army, and just six years later was brutally assassinated on the evening of December 11, 969. The contemporary Byzantine sources portray him in a variety of ways, from an “arch villain” to “a paragon of the personal and imperial virtues.”¹ In this volume there are five contemporary texts in annotated translations that document Phokas’s dramatic rise and fall.

Among the few sources in Greek for this period are the portions of three chronicle texts of the so-called Logothete “Cycle”² for the years 945–963, which also reflect the early career of Phokas. They likewise apparently reflect the use of now lost pro-Phokan contemporary family sources.³ There are in addition two texts in verse. The first is Theodosios the Deacon’s *De Creta capta*,⁴ a historical epic of Nikephoros’s recapture of Crete from Muslim occupation, and the last an anonymous liturgical office (*akolouthia*)⁵ declaring the slain Phokas a martyr and a saint.

In the *Historia Syntomos* Michael Psellos says, “About the emperor Nikephoros, many detailed writings have been published both by contemporaries and by authors shortly after, and whoever reads them will know how many things were achieved by this man as a private person and as emperor.”⁶ Other texts, already available in translation, include a chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenetos’s *De cerimoniis*,⁷ poems of John Geometres, and the *Homily on the Keramion*.⁸ I have chosen the five texts within because they contain considerable additional detailed information on Phokas. However, only the *akolouthia* deals solely with Phokas; the poem *De Creta capta* focuses also on his prede-

1 The contrast’s origins are well elucidated by Morris 1998.

2 See Markopoulos 2004, 12. These comprise of (1) the second part of Theophanes Continuatus Book 6, (2) the text in Vat. gr. 163, and (3) Pseudo-Symeon.

3 See Markopoulos 1979, 89, Markopoulos 2003, 187–188, 195, and Markopoulos 2010, 704.

4 Ed. Jacobs 1828, Panagiotakes 1960, and Criscuolo 1979.

5 Ed. Petit 1904; I follow Petit, who argued that the author was a contemporary, but for doubts see Kazhdan 2006, 288.

6 *Historia Syntomos* (Aerts 1990, 98:83–85). I follow the translation and comments of Ljubarskij 1993, 245, in interpreting the phrase ἐν τε ιδιώτου σχήματι “as a private person” to refer to Phokas’s accomplishments before becoming emperor.

7 Ch. 1.96 covers the army’s proclamation of Phokas as emperor, the failed opposition led by Joseph Bringas, and the entry of Nikephoros II Phokas as emperor on August 16, 963.

8 *BHG*³ 801 [n] and [p] and Sullivan 2012.

cessor Romanos II (959–963), but the poet's preface to Phokas tells him (awkwardly) that he will soon see that he is the real hero of the poem. The poet also offers to write of Phokas's conquest of Aleppo.

The three chronicles have a primary focus on Constantine VII (913–959) and his son Romanos II (959–963), but they set Nikephoros Phokas, his father Bardas, and brother Leo in the wider context of the future emperor's rise from military general (*strategos*) of the Anatolikon. They trace his promotion to commander of the imperial field armies (*domestikos* of the *scholai*) and then follow him through the initial stages of the army's acclamation of him as emperor on July 2, 963. The three chronicles should obviously be read in relation to other sources, particularly the eleventh-century *Synopsis historiarum* of John Skylitzes, who takes a more negative view of Constantine VII and the Phokas family. The five chosen sources appear below, starting with the chronicles, followed by the poem *De Creta capta* and the liturgical rite for St Nikephoros Phokas. Each text is preceded by a brief introduction.

A Note on the Translation

In the translations I have tried to leave the English as close to the Greek as possible. Technical terms without precise English equivalent, for example titles and dignities, have generally been transliterated, italicized, and annotated in the Glossary at the end of the volume, or occasionally in a footnote; persons named in the texts are listed with their *PmbZ* number at the end of the volume. The *PmbZ* entries provide detailed and authoritative essays on these individuals as well as extensive related bibliography. I have not commented further in the footnotes unless the immediate context requires it.

Given the number of common passages among the three chronicle texts, I have more heavily annotated those in the Theophanes Continuatus and indicated in the other two where the related passage in Theophanes Continuatus may be found, using the abbreviation TheophCont with the Bonn page and chapter numbers.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Elizabeth Fisher, John Nesbitt and Alice-Mary Talbot for insightful discussions on various points in the texts. The excellent reader for *Byzantina Australiensia* offered numerous substantive and format suggestions which I have adopted and the series editor, Bronwen Neil, has provided many valuable improvements. Joel Kalvesmaki did excellent OCR conversions of a number of the Greek texts and Kosta Simic (funded by the Australasian Association for Byzantine Studies) typed others and proof-read them all. I am most grateful to Professor Athanasios Markopoulos and the editors of *Symmeikta* for their permission to reprint his edition of the Greek text of Vat. Gr. 163 alongside my translation of Text 2.

Abbreviations

- BHG* *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 8a, 3rd edn, 3 vols (Bruxelles 1957, repr. 1986).
- BMGS* *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*.
- BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
- CFHB* *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*.
- CSHB* *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn).
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
- LBG* *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität: besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. E. Trapp, with W. Hörandner and J. Diethart (Vienna 1994–2017).
- LSJ* H.G. Little, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn with a supplement (Oxford 1968).
- NRSV* *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments: New Revised Standard Version* (New York 1989).
- ODB* *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, eds A. Kazhdan and A.-M. Talbot, 3 vols (Oxford 1991).
- PG* *Patrologia cursus completus, series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris 1855–1867).
- PmbZ* *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, eds F. Winkelmann, R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, B. Zielke, and T. Pratsch (Berlin 1998–).
- TLG* *Thesaurus linguae graecae*.

Introduction to the Three Chronicles: Theophanes Continuatus, Symeon the Logothete, and Pseudo-Symeon

Theophanes Continuatus Book 6

Our first chronicle text is the anonymous history known as Theophanes Continuatus, a continuation in six books of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor (d. ca. 818), the primary source for Byzantine, Arab and Latin speaking worlds in the 7th and 8th centuries, which breaks off in the year 813. The second part of Book 6 covers the sole reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (944–959) and extends into the reign of Romanos II up to the capture of Crete in March 961 by the future emperor Nikephoros II Phokas before the manuscript breaks off abruptly.¹ In contrast to the first part of Book 6, which is anti-Macedonian in tone, the second part is a virtual eulogy of Constantine VII and perhaps a veiled critique of Romanos II.²

Constantine VII's first appointee on his accession was Bardas Phokas as *domestikos* of the *scholai*, and the military careers of Bardas and his sons, Nikephoros and Leo Phokas, receive considerable attention. Included, for example, is a highly laudatory passage on Nikephoros's restoration of the courage of the army upon becoming *domestikos* and his direct and highly effective personal participation in battle, specifically against Sayf al-Dawla, the Hamdanid ruler of Aleppo, referred to as Chambdan. Also prominent are passages on the effectiveness of the two brothers in fighting on behalf of the Christians, on Romanos II entrusting all military matters to the brothers, on Leo's success at Andrassos in Cappadocia against Sayf al-Dawla in 960, and on Nikephoros's intelligence and leadership in the expedition to Crete and assault on Chandax. Somewhat unexpectedly in this context, however, the author notes that on sending out his troops to attack, "The intelligent and courageous *domestikos* himself was left behind the rear guard," a statement in line with the military manuals' instructions to generals,³ but not with the more usual portrayal of Phokas's personal courage.

1 Ed. Bekker 1838, 436–481. Hereafter I cite Theophanes Continuatus only by name followed by [page:line numbers].

2 See Treadgold 2013, 215.

3 See, for example, Leo VI, *Tak.* 14.3 (Dennis 2010, 291).

This text is thought to have been composed in the reign of Phokas,⁴ although the high praise it affords to the *parakoimomenos* Joseph Bringas, who opposed Phokas's accession and plotted his death, is problematic for this time period. The text is anonymous; Theodore Daphnopates,⁵ and most recently Basil Lekapenos,⁶ have been proposed as the author, but the attribution remains an open question. I have begun the translation of this text as well as that of Pseudo-Symeon from December of 944, as the deposition of Romanos I in December of that year and the subsequent accession of Constantine VII are essential for understanding the context of Nikephoros Phokas's rise.

The Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete (Revised Version)

The second text is the section of the revised version of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete as preserved in Vat. gr. 163, folios 1–61, specifically folios 58v–61 for the years 948–963.⁷ The revision was presumably made by the Logothete himself⁸ by extending the original version, which ended in 948, to 963 and by adding interpolations into the earlier section. These interpolations, found in Vat. gr. 153, include additions on the career of Nikephoros Phokas the Elder, grandfather of the later emperor Nikephoros II Phokas.⁹ I include these interpolations, clearly intended to enhance the reputation of the new emperor,¹⁰ as an appendix following the material in Vat. gr. 163 for the years 948–963.

The Vat. gr. 163 text includes the appointment of Bardas Phokas as *domestikos* of the *scholai* and Nikephoros Phokas as *strategos* of the Anatolikon, the replacement of the aging Bardas in 955 with his son Nikephoros, and the replacement of Nikephoros as *strategos* with his brother Leo. Nikephoros's promotion to *magistros* and appointment of the two brothers as *domestikoi* of the East and West respectively are mentioned, as is Leo Phokas's major success at Kylindros (Andrassos) in Cappadocia, Nikephoros's siege and capture of Chandax (later Candia, now Herakleion) and Crete in 961, his capture of Aleppo in 962 and subsequent triumph, and the opening scene of the army's acclamation of him as emperor in summer of 963. The manuscript then breaks off

4 Markopoulos 2010, 703, Featherstone 2011, 119, Featherstone 2014, 359, and Featherstone and Signes-Codoñer 2015, 18*.

5 Kazhdan 2006, 152–153, but for doubts see Markopoulos 2003, 193.

6 Featherstone 2011 and 2014; for doubts see Treadgold 2013, 211–212 n. 51.

7 Ed. Markopoulos 1979. For the first version of the *Chronicle* (to 948) see Wahlgren 2006.

8 See Markopoulos 1979, 89–90, Treadgold 2013, 206.

9 See Markopoulos 2009, 704.

10 Ed. Istrin 1922 and see Grégoire 1953.

abruptly. The material on Aleppo and Phokas's triumph are not found in other Greek sources. This is also the only text that names Romanos Kourkouas and the *patrikios* Nikephoros Hexakionites as among the military officers who proclaimed Phokas emperor. The text is also thought to have been composed in the reign of Nikephoros II.¹¹

The Chronicle of Pseudo-Symeon

The third text is the anonymous chronicle known under the name of Pseudo-Symeon, found in manuscript Paris BN gr. 1712, which covers the period from creation to 962.¹² While sharing much common material for the years 945–962 with the other two chronicles, it is briefer, but also contains some unique information. Based on its language, style and brevity, Markopoulos argued persuasively that it did not draw on Theophanes Continuatus for the period 945–962 despite sharing some common passages. He also observes that the Pseudo-Symeon text shares some common passages with the Vat. gr. 163 version not found in the Theophanes Continuatus text.¹³ Treadgold dates the composition to post-969 and perhaps as late as 979, noting that it adopts a generally favourable view of Constantine VII, Romanos II, and Nikephoros Phokas.¹⁴

Among the references to the Phokas family are Constantine VII's first appointment of Bardas Phokas as *domestikos* of the *scholai*, the subsequent dismissal of Bardas and the appointment of Nikephoros Phokas to replace him, and the appointment of Leo Phokas as *strategos* of the Anatolikon. The chronicler further comments on Romanos II's appointment of Nikephoros as *magistros* and of his brother Leo as *domestikos* of the West. He discusses Romanos II's subsequent dispatching of Nikephoros to Crete, with details on the size of the fleet, the route via Phygela, the construction of a ditch and palisade after the landing on Crete, the harsh winter, the army's supply problems, and Phokas's ability to calm the restless troops. After a brief statement on the taking of Chandax, the text concludes with Phokas's triumph in the Hippodrome, and finally his capture of Aleppo.

11 Markopoulos 1979, 89, Markopoulos 2003, 189, Featherstone 2011, 119, Featherstone and Signes-Codoñer 2015, 18*, and Treadgold 2013, 206. See however Kazhdan 2006, 274, who argues for before 963 on the basis of the positive presentation of Joseph Bringas.

12 Ed. Bekker 1838, 603–760, esp. 752–760. Hereafter I cite Pseudo-Symeon only by name followed by [page:line numbers].

13 Markopoulos 1979, 88.

14 Treadgold 2013, 221–222.

Sources Used by the Three Chroniclers

Citing numerous commonalities Markopoulos argued that the three Logothete cycle texts presumably shared a common principal source now lost.¹⁵ For example, they all share the error of stating that the Arab occupation of Crete lasted for 158 years, while Arab control actually lasted for only 138. Markopoulos has suggested that perhaps an unknown encomium to Constantine VII is the source of both Vat. gr. 163 and the Theophanes Continuatus text.¹⁶ Featherstone has proposed an “inextant version of the Logothete Chronicle” as the possible lost common source.¹⁷ Treadgold argues that the Pseudo-Symeon involved both abridgement and expansion of the two versions of Symeon the Logothete.¹⁸ The anticipated publication of Steffan Wahlgren’s edition of the revised version of Symeon the Logothete may aid in resolving the problem.

15 Markopoulos 1979, 88.

16 Markopoulos 2010, 704 n. 27.

17 Featherstone 2012, 133 n. 38.

18 Treadgold 2013, 221.

52 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς μακρῶ γήρει καὶ νόσῳ τρυχόμενος τὰ τῆς βασιλείας κατὰ διαθήκας ἀπακριβάζεται καὶ ἄνακτα πρῶτον κατὰ διαθήκας τὸν πορφυρογέννητον Κωνσταντῖνον προσδιορίζεται, ἐν ἔτει ἑξάκις χιλιοστῶ τετρακοσιοστῶ πενηκοστῶ τρίτῳ, καὶ καθεξῆς ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ τοὺς τούτου υἱούς, τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ῥητῶς διασφαλισάμενος, ὡς εἶπερ τῷ πρῶτῳ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τι προσπαίσειαν, καθαιρεῖσθαι παραυτίκα τῆς βασιλείας.

53 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶς τρόποις ὁ θεὸς βούλεται σώζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, συνεχώρησε Ῥωμανὸν βασιλέα συμφορᾷ ἀδοκῆτῳ προσπεσεῖν, ἵνα δι' αὐτῆς σωφρονισθεὶς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐν συναισθήσει παραπτωμάτων γενόμενος σωτηρίας ἀξιωθῆ. Συνεχώρησε γὰρ ἐπαναστήναι αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Στέφανον, ὥσπερ ποτὲ Ἀβεσσαλώμ ἐπέανέστη Δαβὶδ τῷ οἰκείῳ πατρὶ. Συμβούλοις οὖν οὗτος πρὸς τοῦτο χρησάμενος τῷ τε ἀπὸ μοναχῶν Μαριανῶ τῷ Ἀργυρῶ καὶ Βασιλείῳ τῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ τῷ Πετεινῶ καὶ Μανουήλ τῷ Κουρτίκῃ, συνειδόντων αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων, τοῦτον τοῦ παλατίου κακῶς κατήγαγεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Πρώτῃ νήσῳ ἐξορίσας ἀπέκειρεν μοναχόν. |

Theophanes Continuatus Book 6, years 944–961

- 52 The¹ emperor Romanos (I), worn out from great old age and illness, detailed arrangements for the empire in a will in the year 6453,² and specified in the will as the senior ruler³ the Porphyrogennetos Constantine, and in succession as second and third his sons,⁴ confirming verbatim to them that if they should move in any way against the senior emperor, they would be removed immediately from imperial status. 435
- 53 Since in many ways God wishes to save humankind, He allowed the emperor Romanos to fall into an unexpected calamity, in order that, chastened through it and being cognizant of his own sins, he might be deemed worthy of salvation. For He allowed his son Stephen to rebel against him, as Absalom once rebelled against his father David.⁵ He [Stephen] employed as his advisers for this the former monk Marianos Argyros and the *protospatharios* Basil Peteinos and Manuel Kourtikes, the other emperors⁶ also sharing knowledge of it with him, and he wrongly removed him [Romanos I] from the Palace and exiled him on the island of Prote and had him tonsured as a monk. | 436

1 Ed. Bekker 1838, 435–481. To clarify a few textual problems I have been able to consult by microfilm the archetype manuscript Vat. gr. 167 (ca. 1000), not employed by Bekker. Those readings are provided in the related footnotes.

2 The date 6453 = 944/945 and hence in 944 in September or later; see Treadgold 2013, 214 n. 62.

3 The author uses here and in other instances below the Homeric term ἄναξ for emperor; see Treadgold 2013, 215 with n. 68. Theodosios the Deacon employs it frequently of Romanos II in the *De Creta capta* and the author of the *akolouthia* also uses it of Nikephoros II Phokas in a number of instances. I have rendered it with “ruler,” except when it refers to God.

4 Stephen Lekapenos and Constantine Lekapenos.

5 2 Sam. 15. On the coup see Runciman 1929, repr. 1988, 232.

6 Constantine Lekapenos and their deceased brother Christopher’s son Michael. See also Pseudo-Symeon [752:12–13].

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ

- 1 Ὑπελείφθη οὖν αὐτοκράτωρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τούτου γαμβρός μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ εἰκάδι, ἰνδικτιῶνος τρίτης, ἐν ἔτει ἑξάκις χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ πενηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ· ὃς αὐτίκα Βάρδαν τὸν τοῦ Φωκά τῆ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξία τιμήσας, ὡς χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίαν πολλάκις ἐπιδειξαμένου, δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν προχειρίζεται, καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Γογγύλην ναυμαχίας ἡγήτορα, καὶ στρατιάρχας τινὰς τῶν εὐχρήστων. Εἶτα Βασίλειον, ᾧ ἐπίκλην Πετεινός, πατρίκιον καὶ μέγαν ἑταιρειάρχην, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀργυρῶν Μαριανὸν τὰ μοναχικὰ ἀποδύσας πατρίκιον καὶ κόμητα τοῦ στάβλου πεποίηκεν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ Μανουὴλ τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Κουρτίκην πατρίκιον καὶ δρουγγάριον τῆς βίγλης ἐποίησεν. Οὓς τινὰς τρεῖς οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαία κρίσις, ὡς εἰς Χριστὸν τοῦ κυρίου παροινήσαντας καὶ χεῖρας ἀδίκως ἐπιβαλόντας, τῆς βασιλείας ὀρεγομένους μετήλθεν· ἐπὶ καθοσιώσει γὰρ καταληφθέντες ἑκάτεροι οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ τὸ ζῆν ἀπέρρηξαν. Τὰ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν πλατύτερόν τε καὶ ἐπεξεργαστικώτερον ἐν τῇ προηγουμένη ἐξηγήσει ἐκθήσομαι. |
- 2 Μετὰ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, τῆ εἰκάδι ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνός, ὑποπεύσας Κωνσταντῖνος τὸν τε βασιλέα Στέφανον καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφόν, μή ποτε καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅμοια διαπράξωνται, καὶ λογισάμενος ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, ὅτι εἰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς οὐκ ἐφείσαντο, πῶς αὐτοῦ φείσωνται, ἐστίασας

Sovereignty of Constantine

1 Constantine (VII) his son-in-law was then left as sovereign on the twentieth of the month of December, third indiction, in the year 6454.⁷ He immediately honoured Bardas,⁸ the son of Phokas,⁹ with the dignity of *magistros*, as for a long time he had often displayed courage in wars,¹⁰ and he appointed him *domestikos* of the *scholai*, and Constantine Gongylios as head of the navy, and some *stratiarchai*¹¹ from qualified men. Then he made Basil, whose sobriquet was Peteinos, *patrikios* and grand *hetaireiarches*, and Marianos from the family of the Argyroi *patrikios* and *komes* of the stable, after removing his monastic garb. Likewise also he made Manuel surnamed Kourtikes *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the Watch. Not much later the just judgment of God pursued these three men for their drunken violence against the anointed of the Lord and for unjustly laying their hands¹² on him, grasping for the empire. Each was arrested for *lèse-majesté* and shattered his life with a pitiful death. I expound on the events concerning them at greater length and in more detail in the preceding¹³ narrative. |

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2 After forty days, on the twenty-seventh of the month of January, Constantine (VII) came to suspect that the emperor Stephen and his brother Constantine might at some point carry out similar actions also against him, and reckoning that this was probable—because if they did not spare their own father, how would they spare him?—invited them to dinner. When they

7 The date 6454 = 945/946 and hence is incorrect by one year. 944 is correct; see Treadgold 2013, 214 with n. 62. Pseudo-Symeon [753:2] gives the same incorrect date.

8 Bardas Phokas, the father of Nikephoros II Phokas.

9 Nikephoros Phokas the “Elder” (*PmbZ* #25545), grandfather of the emperor.

10 It is notable that Constantine’s appointment of Bardas Phokas is the first one mentioned in Theophanes Continuatus; it is also first in Pseudo-Symeon [753:2–4]. On Bardas’s prior military career see Cheynet 1986, 297–299. This statement appears somewhat exaggerated. While apparently successful as a *strategos* prior to 919, he had held no significant command under Romanos I (920–944) although he was called to assist against the Rus’ attack in 941.

11 “A special category of high officials,” see *ODB* 3:1962.

12 The phrase is frequent in the New Testament, cf. Mt. 26:50, Mk. 14:46, Jn. 7:44, and four instances in *Acts*.

13 Actually their deaths are mentioned below [438:11–17] and Peteinos again at [479:12–15]. For an explanation of the author’s apparent error in revising, see Treadgold 2013, 210–211 with n. 50 who comments that when the author “absentmindedly” wrote the sentence, “he was still considering whether to mention the stories before this passage or after it.”

αυτούς, ἤδη ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ καθεζομένους, ἔτι τῆς βρώσεως οὔσης ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν, ἀνήρπασαν οὗτοι οἱ λεγόμενοι Τορνίκιοι καὶ ὁ πατρίκιος Μαρριανὸς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο ἠὑτρεπισμένοι, καὶ τοῦ παλατιοῦ κατήγαγον καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλησιαζούσαις νήσοις τούτους περιώρισαν καὶ κληρικοὺς ἀπέκειραν.

- 3 Μετ' ὀλίγον οὖν οὗτοι αἰτησάμενοι τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα θεάσασθαι ἐν τῇ Πρώτῃ νήσῳ παρεγένοντο, καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τῷ μοναχικῷ σχήματι θεασάμενοι πένθει κατεσχέθησαν ἀφορήτῳ· οἷς ἐπιδακρύσας ὁ πατήρ ἔφη “υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὑψωσα· αὐτοὶ δὲ με ἠθέτησαν”. Εἶθ' οὕτως ἐξωρίσθησαν, ὁ μὲν Στέφανος εἰς Προικόννησον (ἦν τινα Νεβρίαν ὠνομασμένην ἐκ τῆς κατὰ χρησμὸν δεδομένης προχόου ἄποικοι Σαμίων μετωνόμασαν, οἷς ἀφικομένοις πρὸς νῆσον καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἰλασκομένοις ἀριστοποιούμενοι τε ἄωρία ἐτύγχανεν ὁπόθεν ὕδωρ κομίσονται. Γυνή δὲ τις ἔφη αὐτοῖς, “εἰ ἔχετε πρόχοον, δώσω ἡμῖν ὕδωρ”. “Ὅπερ λαβόντες, ὡς ὁ χρησμὸς, καὶ γῆν ἐξητήσαντο. Τῆς δὲ καὶ ταύτην δεδωκυίας, Πρόχοον τὴν νῆσον ὠνόμασαν καὶ τοῖς ἀργυροῖς νομίσμασιν πρόχοον εἰκόνιζον), | ἀπὸ δὲ Προικοννήσου εἰς Ῥόδον, ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥόδου εἰς Μιτυλήνην, ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος εἰς Τένεδον, ἐκείθεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην· ἐν ἧ καὶ ἀνταρσίαν μελετήσας, καὶ τὸν ἐκ βασιλικῆς κελεύσεως τὴν αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένον Νικήταν πρωτοσπαθάριον ἀναιρήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τῶν αὐτὸν φυλασσόντων ἀνεσφάγη. Οὗ τὸ σῶμα παρακομισθὲν ταφῇ παραδίδοται μεγαλοτίμως, ἐν ἧ περὶ τούτῳ ἡ πρώτη αὐτοῦ σύμβιος ἀπέκειτο Ἐλένη τοῦνομα. Μιχαὴλ δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοφόρου υἱόν, τὰ βασιλικά πέδιλα Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ πορφυρογέννητος ἀφελόμενος, κληρικὸν καὶ μάγιστρον καὶ ραϊκτωρα πεποίηκεν. Ὅσοι δὲ ἐπέβαλον χεῖρας ἐπὶ τῇ καταβάσει Ῥωμανοῦ βασιλέως, ταῦτα πεπόνθασιν. Ὁ μὲν Βασίλειος μάγιστρος εἰσκομισθεὶς καὶ πομπευθεὶς καὶ ἐξορισθεὶς στένων καὶ τρέμων τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐξορίᾳ ἐτέλεσεν· τὸν Μαρριανὸν γυνὴ ἀπὸ ὑψους ρίψασα

were already seated at the table and with food still in their mouths, the so-called Tournikioi¹⁴ and the *patrikios* Marianos and the rest who were well prepared for this seized and removed them from the Palace and banished them to the neighbouring islands and had them tonsured as clerics.

- (3) Shortly thereafter these men asked to see their own father and came to the island of Prote and, seeing him in the monastic habit, were overcome with unbearable grief; and their father, weeping, said to them, “I fathered sons and elevated them, and they rejected me.”¹⁵ Then they were exiled as follows: Stephen to Proikonnesos¹⁶ (this, once called Nebria,¹⁷ Samian colonists renamed from the pitcher given to them in accordance with an oracle, which occurred when they came to the island and asked God, as they were making breakfast with difficulty,¹⁸ where they might procure water. A certain woman said to them, “If you have a pitcher,¹⁹ I will give you water.” They took this, as the oracle [said], and asked for land. When she gave them this, they called the island Prochoos and they fashioned a pitcher on silver coins), | from Proikonnesos to Rhodes, from Rhodes to Mitylene, Constantine to Tenedos, thence to Samothrace. There he engaged in rebellion and killed the *protospatharios* Niketas, who was entrusted by imperial order as his jailor, and was himself slain by his [other] jailors. His [Constantine Lekapenos’s] body was brought and consigned with great honour to the tomb where near him lay his first wife named Helena.²⁰ Constantine the Porphyrogennetos took away the imperial boots of Michael, the son of the emperor Christopher, and made him a cleric, and *magistros* and *rhaiktor*. All who had a hand in the deposition of the emperor Romanos suffered as follows. Basil the *magistros* was arrested and paraded for public derision²¹ and was exiled, groaning and trembling, ending his life in exile.²² A woman threw from a height a tile onto

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14 Nicholas and Leo Tournikios. See Cheynet 2010, 228 n. 8.

15 Cf. Lk. 10:16.

16 The modern Marmara Island.

17 “Deer” or “Deerskin” island; for the identification as Prokonnesos see Smith 1870, 810 at “Elaphonnesus.” For additional sources of the story see Diller 1950, 251.

18 Accepting Bekker’s suggested emendation ἀπορίῃ for ἀωρίῃ. This reading is found in the version of the text edited by Istrin 1922, 65:7 where this story of “Prochoos” is also found.

19 The Greek is πρόχοος, *prochoos*. The story seems poorly adapted to an explanation of Proikonnesos, the spelling in the manuscript; a link to προίξ (“dowry”) is more likely.

20 In the Myrelaion, see *ODB* 2:1428–1429 and Grierson 1962, 28–29.

21 On such parades (*diapompeuseis*) see *ODB* 2:993 at “Infamy.”

22 Skylitzes, *Synopsis* (Romanos II, chap. 5, Thurn 1973, 250–251) reports that Basil Peteinon led a plot against Romanos II in 961 and was exiled and died in the Proikonnesos.

πλάκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν, τὸν μόνον Ἰούδα ἐχρήσατο· ὁ δὲ Διογένης καὶ στρατηγὸς λογχευθεὶς παρὰ δύο ἀτζυπάδων τοῦ Μαλελεΐνου κακὸν θάνατον ἔδωκεν· ὁ δὲ Κουρτίκης ἀπερχόμενος εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ τοῦ δρομωνίου ἐποντίσθη· ὁ δὲ Κλάδων εὐρεθεὶς εἰς μούλτον ῥινοτομηθεὶς καὶ τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ ἐκτμηθεὶς· ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ οἱ λοιποί.

- 4 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς ὄρᾳ κατ' ὄναρ δύο εὐνούχους λευκοφοροῦντας, καὶ κρατήσαντες αὐτὸν τῶν χειρῶν ἤγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Τρικύμβαλον ὀλόγυμον. Τὸ δὲ τζυκανιστήριον ἦν | πεπληρωμένον πυρός, συνεδαβελίζετο δὲ ὑπὸ ἀτζυπάδων πολλῶν. Καὶ ὄρᾳ τὴν Θεοτόκον ἐλθοῦσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λαλήσασαν τοῖς εὐνούχοις 439 διὰ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην αὐτοῦ. Ἐνδύσασα αὐτῶν ἡ Θεοτόκος εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς Τροπικὴν. Διήλθεν δὲ δεδεμένος ὁ κύρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ σφαγεὶς καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης Ἀναστάσιος Ἡρακλείας, ἀγόμενοι παρὰ ἀτζυπάδων· καὶ παρέδωκαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέβαλον εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνο. Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ἐν ἧ ἑθεάσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ὄναρ, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν καὶ οἱ δύο. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς ἀποστείλας εἰς πάντα τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ τὰς λαύρας, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην, προσεκαλέσατο μοναχοὺς ἁγίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριακοσίων· καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ πέμπτῃ ἐκδυσάμενος τὸν χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν στολὴν, ἦν περιεβέβλητο, ἐνώπιον πάντων σταθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτε ἔμελλεν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὑψώσῃ τὸν θεῖον καὶ ἅγιον ἄρτον, ἔχων ἐν χαρτίῳ γεγραμμένης τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίας πάσας ἐστηλίτευσεν αὐτὰς κατενώπιον πάντων. Τῶν δὲ μοναχῶν κραζόντων τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον καὶ δακρυροούντων, ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ βαλὼν μετάνοιαν συγχώρησιν ἤτει. Καὶ πάντων τῶν

the head of Marianos and he suffered the fate of Judas.²³ Diogenes the *strategos* was run through with a spear by two bodyguards of Maleleinos²⁴ and surrendered to an evil death. Kourtikes, going off to Crete²⁵ with the *dromon*, drowned. Kladon,²⁶ discovered in a rebellious plot, had his nose slit and ears cut off;²⁷ likewise also Philip and the rest.

- 4 The emperor Romanos (I) saw in a dream²⁸ two eunuchs dressed in white, who, taking him by the hand, led him totally naked into the *Trikumbalon*.²⁹ The polo field³⁰ was | filled with fire and the fire was stoked by many bodyguards. He saw the Theotokos coming to him and speaking to the eunuchs, seeking mercy for him. Clothing him,³¹ the Theotokos led him to *an arcade*.³² [He saw] going through it in fetters the lord Constantine who had been slaughtered³³ and the metropolitan Anastasios of Heracleia, led by bodyguards; and they consigned and threw them into that fire. On the day on which the emperor saw the dream, on the same day the two also died. 439

The emperor Romanos sent to all the monasteries and lavras, likewise even to the holy city³⁴ and to Rome, and summoned holy monks, 300 in number. And on Holy Thursday, taking off his tunic and the robe in which he was clothed, standing before all in the church, when the priest was about to elevate the divine and holy bread, with all his [Romanos's] sins written in a document, he recited them before all. With all the monks crying "Lord have mercy" and weeping, he made obeisance to each one and begged forgiveness. And with all the monks granting him forgiveness, recei-

23 Acts 1:18: "falling headlong, he burst open (ἐλάκησεν) in the middle and all his bowels gushed out." Marianos died on 16 August 963 while opposing Nikephoros Phokas; see Leo the Deacon, *Historia* 3.7 (Hase 1828, 46).

24 An otherwise unknown family name. Vat. gr. 163, chap. 1 gives his name as Maleinos. The authors of the *PmbZ* entry #24849 plausibly suggest that the form here may be a corruption of the latter, given the man's apparent prominence (he has two bodyguards).

25 Apparently in one of the expeditions against Crete, 949 or 960–961.

26 Leo Kladon.

27 On such punishments see *ODB* 2:1428 at "Mutilation."

28 On the dream see Magdalino 2014, 128–132 and Runciman 1929, repr. 1988, 235–236.

29 "A location at the edge of the Palace"; see Magdalino 2014, 128.

30 I.e. the *tykanisterion*, "within the precincts of the Great Palace," *ODB* 3:2137.

31 Reading with the manuscript αὐτόν.

32 Reading with the manuscript τροπικὴν for the Bonn edition's Τροπικὴν, possibly that of the Lausiakos Hall; see Guiland 1969, I, 154, also Moffatt and Tall, I, 50, 260–261.

33 His son Constantine Lekapenos, whose death on Samothrace is described in the previous chapter.

34 Jerusalem.

μοναχῶν συγχώρησιν δόντων αὐτῷ, καὶ κοινωνίας τυχῶν, ἀνερχομένων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ δούσ σχοινίον μεираκίω καὶ ῥέκαν, ἔτυπτεν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ λέγων οὕτως “εἰσελθε κακὸγῆρε ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ”. Καὶ πάντων καθεσθέντων ἐκαθέσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος. Τὸ δὲ πιττάκιον ὃ ἦν γεγραμμένον | ἔχον τὰς ἀμαρτίας 440 αὐτοῦ, βουλώσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τοὺς καλογήρους τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις Δερμοκαίτην, ἀποστείλας καὶ δύο κεντηνάρια εἰς τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ, ἵνα εὐχωνται ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας. Ὁ Δερμοκαίτης ἀναλαβόμενος τὸ τε χαρτίον καὶ λογάριον ὥρισε πάντας τοὺς μοναχοὺς τοῦ νηστεῦσαι δύο ἑβδομάδας καὶ εὐξασθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ Δερμοκαίτου δὲ ἱσταμένου ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ καὶ εὐχομένου φωνὴ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀοράτως, “ἐνίκησεν ἡ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Θεοῦ”. Ταύτης δὲ φωνῆς ἐκ τρίτου ἀκούσας, τὸ χαρτίον λαβὼν καὶ λύσας εὗρεν αὐτὸν καθαρὸν μὴ ἔχον γράμμα ἐν καὶ μόνον. Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ πάντας τοὺς μοναχοὺς καὶ ὑποδείξας αὐτὸ, ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν πάντες. Καὶ ποιήσαντες ἀφέσιμον πάντες οἱ μοναχοὶ ἀπέστειλαν αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμανόν, καὶ συνετάφη μετ’ αὐτοῦ.

- 5 Ὦντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμανοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὁ πατριάρχης Θεοφύλακτος καὶ Θεοφάνης πατρίκιος καὶ παρακοιμώμενος βουλὴν ἐβουλεύσαντο ὥστε τοῦτον πάλιν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἀγαγεῖν· ἦν καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνακοινωνησάμενοι καὶ παραπέισαντες τοῦτον ἐκαιροσκόπουν πότε τὸ πέρασ τῇ τοιαύτῃ βουλῇ ἐπιθήσουσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐφωράθη καὶ κατεμηνύθη τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ, τοὺς συνεργοὺς αὐτῆς ἡμύνατο· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πατρίκιον Θεοφάνην ἐξώρισεν, τὸν δὲ πρωτοσπαθάριον Γεώργιον καὶ πιγ- | κέρην καὶ Θωμᾶν πριμικῆριον δείρας καὶ κουρεύσας 441 οὕτως ὑπερορία παρέπεμψεν.
- 6 Δεκεμβρίῳ δὲ μηνί, ἰνδικτιῶνος ς´, ἐπιβουλὴν τινεσ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου ἐμελέτησαν, βουλόμενοι τὸν βασιλέα Στέφανον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὄντα ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἀγαγεῖν. Ταύτης οὖν μηνυθείσης Κωνσταντίνῳ διὰ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Διαβολίνου λεγομένου, τοὺς ἐπιβούλους κρατήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν μὲν τὰς ῥίνας καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἀπέτεμεν, τοὺς δὲ δαρμῷ ἀφορήτῳ ὑπέβαλεν καὶ ὄνοις ἐπικαθίσας διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐθριάμβευσεν καὶ ἐξορία παρέπεμψεν.

vig communion as they went to the table, he gave a rope and a scourge to a novice and he [the novice] was striking him on his feet speaking thus, “Go to the table, evil old man.” After all were seated, the emperor sat down weeping and lamenting.

The manuscript inscribed | with his sins he sealed with a *bullā* and dispatched it to the venerable monks who were absent, and likewise also to Dermokaites who is among the saints, sending also two *kentenaria*³⁵ to the monks on Olympos³⁶ that they might pray for his spiritual salvation. Dermokaites, on receiving the document and the list, ordered all the monks to fast for two weeks and to pray for his sins. As Dermokaites stood one night and prayed, a voice came to him unseen [saying], “The beneficence of God has prevailed.” After he heard this voice three times he took the document, and on opening it found it clean with not even one single letter therein. He summoned all the monks and showed it to them and everyone glorified God. After all the monks had deemed it a [document] of forgiveness,³⁷ they sent it to the emperor Romanos and it was buried with him. 440

5 While the emperor Romanos was still on the island, the patriarch Theophylaktos and Theophanes the *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos* conceived a plan to bring him back into the Palace. After they shared it with him and persuaded him, they were watching for the right time to bring their plan to completion. But when the plan was disclosed and revealed to the emperor Constantine, he foiled the conspirators. For he banished the *patrikios* Theophanes and he had Gregory the *protospatharios* and | cupbearer³⁸ flayed and tonsured and sent thus into exile together with Thomas the *primikerios*. 441

6 In the month of December, sixth indiction, some men conceived a plot against the emperor Constantine, wishing to bring into the Palace the emperor Stephen who was on the island. When this was revealed to Constantine by Michael surnamed Diabolinos, the emperor seized the conspirators and had the noses and ears of some slit, and subjected some to an unbearable beating, and seating them on asses he had them paraded for public derision through the middle of the City and sent into exile.

35 The *kentenarion* was a “quantity of 100 *logarikai litrai* of gold or gold coins”; see *ODB* 2:1121.

36 On Bithynian Olympos and its monasteries see *ODB* 3:1525.

37 On ἀφέσιμον [γράμμα] see Sophocles 1992 at ἀφέσιμος, “a letter of pardon”, with reference to this passage.

38 On the *πιγκέρνης* see *ODB* 3:1679.

- 7 Πεντεκαιδεκάτη δὲ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς ἰνδικτιῶνος ἕκτης Ῥωμανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ ἐπονομαζομένη Πρώτῃ τελευτᾷ· καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀποκομίσθην ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀπετέθη μονῇ.
- 8 Διήγημα δὲ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν παρέδραμον τοῦ λεχθῆναι. Στεφάνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν βασιλέων κατενεχθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου προτροπῇ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου, χωννουβαριασμός γέγονεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ μαγίστρου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κουρκούα τοῦ ἀποδομestίκοι τῶν σχολῶν καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ μαγίστρου Ῥωμανοῦ Σαρωνίτου καὶ εἰς ἐτέρους καὶ διαφόρους οἴκους, καὶ διαρπαγὴν καὶ πτωχείας αὐτοῖς προεξένησαν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος κατοικτεῖρας τὸ ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀθρόως ὀράσθαι αὐτοὺς πένητας, διωρίσατο τῷ ἐπάρχῳ Θεοφίλῳ ταῦτα | σωρευθῆναι καὶ ἀποδοθῆναι. Ὁ δὲ πρωτοκαγκελαρίῳ αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ζωναρᾷ προσδιορισάμενος, ὃς ἄτε εὐφυῆς κλέπτῃς καὶ μοχθηρός, καὶ κατέχων τὰ τούτων οἰκήματα καὶ πολλὴν σπουδὴν καταβαλὼν, πάντα ἐσφετερίσατο καὶ τῆς ἀπλήστου αὐτοῦ γνώμης ἀνεφορήσατο καὶ μόλις τὴν δεκάτην μοῖραν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκεν. Καὶ τίς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἄπειρον δολιότητα καὶ κακίαν τοῦ δολίου ἀνδρὸς διηγῆσεται; Ὅς λύμη καὶ νόσος τῇ πολιτείᾳ Ῥωμαίων γέγονεν. Ἡ ἐν ποίῳ κακῷ πρώτιστος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐχ εὐρίσκετο; Τῇ πιθανολογίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις βεβαιῶν ὡς ἄτε πιστὸν καὶ ὀρθὸν εἶναι πᾶσι. Ὡς δὲ λόγος ἄδεται, οὗτος βοθηθεῖας δαιμόνων προσκαλούμενος ἐν πᾶσιν εὐδοκίμει, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον βουλευθέντα διαφόρως ἀποκινήσαι τοῦτον οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐποίαις καὶ δωραῖς προεξένησεν. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τούτου θωπείας καὶ κολακείας καὶ πολλῆς ἀναιδεΐας, καὶ τὴν ἄπιστον διάθεσιν καὶ τὴν μοχθηρὰν καὶ ἀνείκαστον αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίαν, πλατύτερόν τε καὶ ἐπεξεργαστικώτερον ἐν τῇ προηγουμένῃ ἐπεξηγήσει ἐκθήσομαι.

- 7 On the fifteenth of the month of June of the sixth indiction³⁹ the emperor Romanos (I) died on the island named Prote; and his body was conveyed into the City and interred in his monastery.⁴⁰
- 8 A significant and marvelous tale escaped⁴¹ being told. When the emperors Stephen and Constantine [Lekapenos] were taken from the Palace on the instigation of Constantine the Porphyrogenetos, an earthquake took place affecting the house⁴² of the *magistros* John Kourkouas, the former *domestikos* of the *scholai*, and that of the *magistros* Romanos Saronites and various other houses, and inflicted on them looting and beggary. The emperor Constantine (VII), feeling pity as he saw them suddenly and all at once rendered paupers, gave orders to the eparch Theophilos⁴³ that these [houses] | be rebuilt and restored. The latter passed the order on to his *protokankellarios*⁴⁴ together with a man called Zonaras. As a thief by nature and being wicked, he took control of their houses and exercising great zeal appropriated everything, and, with his greedy disposition, repaid them barely one tenth. Who will narrate the great and boundless deceitfulness and evil of the deceitful man? He was an outrage and disease for the state of the Romans. Or [who will narrate] in what evil the man was not found preminent? With special pleadings and oaths he affirmed that he was faithful and upright to all. So the story is sung. This man, calling upon the aid of demons, was held in esteem in all things, so that he prevailed upon the emperor Constantine not to remove him, even though Constantine had planned otherwise, but rather rewarded him with favours and gifts. Concerning his flattery and fawning and great shamelessness and his faithless disposition and evil and incomparable greed I expound at greater length and in more detail in the preceding⁴⁵ narrative.

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39 In 948. Vat. gr. 163, chap. 1 and Pseudo-Symeon [754:16] give July as the month.

40 The Myrelaion: see *ODB* 2:1428–1429 and Grierson 1962, 28–29.

41 Reading with the manuscript *παρέδραμεν*.

42 Reading with the manuscript *εἰς τὸν οἶκον*.

43 Theophilos Erotikos.

44 *PmbZ* Anon. #31207.

45 Cf. above n. 13 on the incongruity; nothing further of the promised narrative is found in the extant text.

- 9 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ μόνον καταλειφθῆναι αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντῖνον, προεχειρίσατο Βασίλειον τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἀπὸ παλλακῆς φυσικὸν υἱὸν Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, πατρίκιον καὶ παρακοιμώμενον καὶ παραδυναστεύοντα τῆς συγκλήτου. Οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἐχέφρων καὶ λόγιος, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν | πᾶσιν ὑπηρε- 443
τει αἰσίως καὶ πρεπόντως. Ὁ δὲ φιλόφρων Κωνσταντῖνος διενόηθη ἀλλάγιον ποιῆσαι μετὰ τοὺς Ταρσίτας καὶ τοὺς ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρη-
τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναρρῦσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρόνοις κακουχεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν
δεσμοῖς καὶ θλίψεσι. Καὶ ἀποστείλας τὸν προμνημονευθέντα μάγιστρον καὶ γεγο-
νότα δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν Ἰωάννην τὸν λεγόμενον Κουρκούαν, ἄνδρα συνετὸν
καὶ εὐβουλον καὶ πεπειραμένον πρὸς τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικήματα, καὶ Κοσμᾶν μάγι-
στρον σοφὸν καὶ νομομαθῆ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν κριτηρίων πρῶτιστον· καὶ εἰς τὸν
ποταμὸν τὸν Λάμον τὸ ἀλλάγιον ἐποίησαντο, μὴ συβάν τι ἐναντίον ἢ δολερὸν. Καὶ
τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ὑπέστρεψαν, φιλαγάθως παρὰ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Κωνσταν-
τῖνου ἀποδεχθέντες.
- 10 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔναυλον ἔχων τῶν ἀδικιῶν καὶ ζημιῶν ὧν ὑπέστησαν οἱ ἔλλεινοι
καὶ ἄθλιοι πένητες παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ πρωτονοταρίων καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ
ἵπποτων ἐπὶ τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ, ἄνδρας εὐσεβεῖς καὶ ἐναρέτους ἀπέ-
στειλε πρὸς τὸ κουφίσαι τὸ πολὺ βᾶρος τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ἀκαίρων ἀπαιτήσεων τῶν
ταλαιπῶρων πτωχῶν. Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸν Ἀνατολικὸν Ῥωμανὸν μάγιστρον τὸν Σαρ-
νίτην, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ὀψίκιον τὸν Μουσελεῖ Ῥωμανὸν μάγιστρον, εἰς δὲ τὸν Θρακῆσιον
Φώτιον πατρίκιον, εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν Λέοντα τὸν Ἀγέλαστον, καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ
ἐφεξῆς θέματα· οἵτινες τῇ προτροπῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μικρὰν ἀνακωχὴν τοῖς

- 9 After Constantine was left as the sole sovereign, he appointed his *protoves-tiarios* Basil,⁴⁶ the natural son from a concubine of the previous emperor Romanos, as *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos* and *paradynasteuon*⁴⁷ of the senate. He was prudent and learned, and was serving | the emperor in all things auspiciously and appropriately. The humanitarian Constantine was minded to make an exchange with the Tarsians and to rescue the Romans in captivity under the control of the deniers of Christ, because for many years they had suffered in chains and afflictions. He dispatched the aforementioned *magistros* and former *domestikos* of the *scholai*, John surnamed Kourkouas,⁴⁸ a man intelligent and of good counsel and experienced in public administration,⁴⁹ and the *magistros* Kosmas, wise and learned in the law and the first man of the civil courts. They made the exchange at the river Lamis⁵⁰ without any hostile or deceitful occurrence. After so doing, they returned, received with kindness by the Porphyrogennetos Constantine.
- 10 The emperor had ringing in his ears the injustices and losses that the pitiful and wretched poor underwent at the hands of *strategoï* and *protonotarioï* and soldiers and cavalry in the time of his father-in-law Romanos, and he dispatched pious and virtuous men to lighten the great burden of the then inopportune demands made upon the miserable beggars. And [he sent] to the Anatolikon the *magistros* Romanos Saronites, to the Opsikion Romanos Mouseles the *magistros*, to the Thrakesion the *patrikios* Photios, to the Armeniakon Leo Agelastos, and to the remaining themes in sequence. And at the

46 Basil Lekapenos. Constantine VII's being "left as sole ruler" is presumably to be dated in 948 following the death of Romanos I mentioned above in chap. 7. For the likely appointment of Basil as *parakoimomenos* at that time see Brokaar 1972, 208–211. The same phrasing indicating 948 also appears below in the Vat. gr. 163 text, chap. 5 and in Pseudo-Symeon [754:18–22].

47 For *παραδυναστεύων* see *ODB* 3:1584, a "semiofficial term ... an imperial favourite," placed at the head of an administrative unit.

48 While Vat. gr. 163, chap. 2 also names John Kourkouas as a participant in this mission, for the suggestion that he was not involved see Kresten 2000, 25–30 and the dissenting review by Cheynet 2001.

49 Notably Vat. gr. 163, chap. 2 lacks this latter phrase.

50 The modern Limonlu, on the Cilician frontier, west of Tarsos, a standard exchange point; see *ODB* 3:1722 at "Prisoners, Exchange of." In October 946, 2,482 Muslim prisoners were exchanged for an equal number of Byzantine ones, and an additional 230 Muslims in Byzantine hands were ransomed; see Markopoulos 1979, 102 n. chap. 2, lines 6–13 and Canard 1951, 759–760. On the performative aspects of such exchanges see Durak 2014.

πένησιν ἐδωρήσαντο. Καὶ τοῦτο ἄθλον καὶ προτερήματα | τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργούντος 444
 τῷ ἄνακτι. Οὕτως γὰρ περιείπεν τὸ ὑπήκοον ὡς ἀετὸς σκέπων τὴν αὐτοῦ· οὐδενὶ
 γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ τῶν μέσων ἢ τῶν χυδαίων ὠργίσθη πώποτε, καίτοι μεγάλας
 ἀτοπίας εὔρε πολλοὺς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαρτήσαντας, ἀλλὰ χριστομίμη-
 τος ὢν μᾶλλον εὐποιαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀπένειμεν καὶ τῷ κρῖνοντι δικαίως ἀπεδίδου.
 Τὸν δὲ ἔπαρχον τῆς πόλεως Θεόφιλον, ἄνδρα λόγιον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολιτικούς
 νόμους ἱκανόν, πατρίκιον προέκρινεν καὶ ἐτίμησεν καὶ κοιαιστωρα προεβάλετο,
 καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προεχειρίσατο ἔπαρχον Κωνσταντῖνον πρωτοσπαθᾶριον, τὸν τηνι-
 καῦτα μυστικὸν καὶ καθηγητὴν τῶν φιλοσόφων, λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἀξιέπαινον, ὡς μὴ
 ἕτερον τῆς γνώσεως καὶ σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι τινὰ τῆς συγκλήτου· καὶ οὕτως
 τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εὐνομίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διέπρεψεν.

- 11 Ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης Θεοφύλακτος ἀρρωστήσας καὶ πρὸς τὸ θανεῖν ἐγγίσας καὶ μικρὸν
 ῥωσθεὶς οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς πονηρᾶς μοχθηρίας καὶ τοῦ μετὰ δώρων χειρο-
 τονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἵππων καὶ βλακειῶν. Καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ
 τῆς νόσου κυριευθεὶς τέλει τοῦ βίου χράται, πατριαρχεύσας χρόνους εἴκοσι καὶ
 τέσσαρσι. Χειροτονεῖται δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Πολύευκτος μοναχὸς ἀσκητικὸν βίον δια-
 λάμπων, καὶ μονάσας ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύ-|χων καὶ διαπρέψας ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ ὀρθῷ 445
 δόγματι· καὶ ὡς ἄλλος Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος παρὰ πολλῶν ἐγνωρίζετο καὶ ἐλέ-
 γετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλέγετο μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφαίνετο. Τοῦτον ὀρών ὁ φιλόκαλος Κωνσταν-
 τίνος ἔχαιρε καὶ ἠγαλλιᾶτο ὡς τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἐπιτυχῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ.
- 12 Ὁ δὲ φιλόθεος καὶ φιλόκαλος βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ὁμοίotropον εὐρῶν Ἰωσήφ
 πατρίκιον καὶ πραιπόσιτον, καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς λειτουργίας ἐχέφρονα καὶ

behest of the sovereign they granted a short respite to the poor.⁵¹ This prize and advantage [came] | with God as the ruler's aid. For he treated his subjects *like an eagle hovering over its nest*.⁵² For with none of the officials or middle class or commoners was he ever angry, although he found many engaged in frequent wrongdoing against the common good and against himself,⁵³ but rather in imitation of Christ he distributed beneficences and gifts and rendered what is due to the one who judged justly. He selected and honoured as *patrikios* the eparch of the City Theophilos,⁵⁴ a man learned and competent in civil law, and designated him quaestor, and in his place appointed as eparch Constantine the *protospatharios*, who was then *mystikos* and head of the philosophers, a man praiseworthy in word and deed, as no other man of the senate had his knowledge and wisdom; so he dignified the eparchate with adherence to the law and justice.

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11 The patriarch Theophylaktos, after growing ill and coming near death and slightly recovering, did not separate himself from his evil wickedness and from ordaining bishops for bribes⁵⁵ and from being concerned with horses and stupidities. Again overcome by the disease he met life's end, having served as patriarch for twenty-four years.⁵⁶ In his place Polyeuktos was ordained, a monk who illuminated the ascetic life, having been a monk from early youth | and having been conspicuous in every virtue and orthodox dogma. He was recognized and spoken of by many as another John Chrysostom, and was not only so spoken of, but even seemed to be so. On seeing him the beauty-loving Constantine rejoiced and was glad for encountering such a man in his days.

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12 The God-loving and beauty-loving emperor Constantine, finding Joseph [Bringas], the *patrikios* and *praipositos*, to be a man of similar disposition

51 McGeer 2000, 68 translates this passage with additional bibliography. On the importance placed on a change in administrative personnel in this passage, see Laiou 1994, 166–167.

52 Reading with the manuscript *νοσσοῦν*, lacking in the Bonn edition. Cf. Deut. 32.11, Odes 2.11 and the eagle who protects the emperor Basil I through his childhood, *Vita Basilii* (Ševčenko 2011, chap. 5).

53 See Toynbee 1973, 19.

54 Theophilos Erotikos.

55 The same accusation is found in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 4 and Skylitzes, *Synopsis* (Constantine VII, chap. 10, Thurn 1973, 243).

56 933–956.

πτηνού ταχύτερον, σακελλάριον προχειρίζεται, ἔπειτα δρουγγάριον πλωΐμου, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνατέθεικεν.

13 Τὴν δὲ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Κωνσταντίνου φιλοκαλίαν καὶ καλλιεργίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς πάντα διόρθωσιν καὶ βελτίωσιν μέλλων διηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅπως εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως τὸ ὑπήκοον περιέσωσεν, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μὴ εὐπορῶν, ἐπαινέσαι δεδουκῶς, σιγήσαι μᾶλλον ἄξιον· πλὴν οὖν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν σποράδην ἄξιον εἰπεῖν.

14 Οὗτος πάντα ἐφευρῶν εἰς ἀχρειότητα καὶ ἀμέλειαν, καὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν χυδαιωθέντων καὶ καταφρονηθέντων, ὡς φιλόθεος καὶ φιλόκαλος προέκρινεν τῶν δειλῶν καὶ ἀνάνδρων τοὺς εὐτόλμους καὶ ἀνδρείους, καὶ τούτους τῷ μαγίστρῳ καὶ δομestikῶ τῶν σχολῶν Βάρδα τῷ Φωκᾷ παραδοὺς νίκην τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ | ἀρχῇ προ- 446
εξένησεν. Πολλῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἡμῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀξιεπαινέτων γνώσεις καὶ λογικαὶ τέχναι καὶ ἐπιστήμαι, τούτων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀμεληθέντων καὶ παροραθέντων τί σοφίζεται ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος ἐκεῖνος νοῦς; Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἠπίστατο πράξιν καὶ θεωρίαν πρὸς θεὸν ἡμᾶς οἰκιοῦντα, καὶ τὴν μὲν πράξιν πολιτικοῖς προσαρμόζουσαν πράγμασιν, τὴν θεωρίαν δὲ τοῖς λογικοῖς, ἀλλήλοισι δι' ἀμφοτέρων βοηθεῖ, τὸ μὲν πρακτικὸν διὰ ῥητορικῆς τέχνης ἀσκεισθαι παρασκευάζων, τὸ δὲ θεωρητικὸν διὰ φιλοσοφίας καὶ φυσικῆς τῶν ὄντων διαγνώσεως. Παιδευτὰς δὲ ἀρίστους προκέκρικεν· εἰς Κωνσταντίνον πρωτοσπαθάριον τὸν τηνικαῦτα μυστικὸν τὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων παιδοτριβεῖον δέδωκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ τῶν ῥητόρων Ἀλέξανδρον μητροπολίτην Νικαίας, εἰς δὲ τὸ τῆς γεωμετρίας Νικηφόρον πατρικίον τὸν γαμβρὸν Θεοφίλου ἐπάρχου τοῦ Ἐρωτικοῦ, εἰς δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀστρονόμων Γρηγόριον ἀσηκρήτιν. Καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν

and prudent regarding public service and quicker than a bird, appointed him *sakellarios*, then *droungarios* of the fleet, and entrusted to him⁵⁷ all his authority.

13 As I am about to narrate the love of beauty and the beautiful work of the Porphyrogenetos Constantine and his restoration of and improvement for all things, and how piously and justly he kept his subjects safe, and being incapable in the face of the man's worthiness, fearing to praise, it is rather appropriate to be silent; but then it is appropriate to speak of a selection from the many.⁵⁸

14 When this man found everything in a useless and neglected state and men of virtue debased and despised, since he was God-loving and beauty-loving, he preferred the courageous and manly to the craven and effeminate, and he supplied such men to Bardas Phokas, the *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai*, | procuring victory for the Roman empire.⁵⁹ As knowledge of many beautiful and praiseworthy things and the learned arts and sciences were inexplicably neglected and overlooked in our state, what did that most philosophical mind devise? Since he knew that practice and theory bring us closer to God, practice on the one hand suiting civic affairs, theory intellectual ones, he aided each through the other, contriving to adorn the practical through rhetorical technique, the theoretical through philosophy and physical understanding of matter. He selected the best teachers: he gave the school of the philosophers to Constantine,⁶⁰ *protospatharios* and at that time *mystikos*; to Alexander metropolitan of Nicaea the school of the rhetoricians; to Nikephoros, *patrikos* and son-in-law of the eparch Theophilos Erotikos, the school of geometry; to Gregory the *asekretis* the school of the astronomers. The sovereign also had great concern and regard for the

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57 Given Constantine's earlier appointment of Basil Lekapenos as *parakoimomenos* (above chap. 9), who was "chief of civil administration" (see Featherstone 2014, 355), this last comment regarding Bringas is interesting and absent in the Vat. gr. 163's (chap. 4) report of his appointment as *droungarios*. Notably the same phrase "entrusted to him all authority" is used below [469:20–470:1] when Romanos II appoints Joseph Bringas as *parakoimomenos*. See also below on Constantine's deathbed choice of Bringas as guardian for his son Romanos (chap. 51).

58 On the passage see Treadgold 2013, 214 for the changed attitude toward the Macedonian dynasty in the second part of Theophanes Continuatus Book 6.

59 An overstatement, as Bardas Phokas had little success in his tenure as *domestikos* and was often defeated by Sayf al-Dawla; see Cheynet 1986, 298.

60 See above chap. 10 where this Constantine is appointed eparch.

καὶ σπουδὴν εἰς τοὺς φοιτητὰς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐποιεῖτο, ὁμοδιαίτους καὶ ὁμοτραπέζους τούτους καθ' ἐκάστην ποιῶν καὶ ἀργύρια παρέχων καὶ ὁμιλίας μετ' αὐτῶν προσηνεῖς ποιούμενος. Καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος διελθὼν, τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας τῇ θωπεΐᾳ καὶ συνέσει τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατωρθώσαντο, καὶ κριτὰς καὶ ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ μητροπολίτας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλεξάμενος τετίμηκεν, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων τῇ σοφίᾳ κατεκόσμησεν καὶ κατεπλούτισεν. |

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- 15 Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς στολὰς καὶ τὰ ἔκπαλαι στέμματα καὶ διαδήματα φθάρῃντα εἰς ἀνακαινίσιν διωρθώσατο, καὶ τὸν Βουκολέοντα ζῳδίοις, ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων ἀγαγὼν, ἐκαλλώπισεν, ἀκείρισε ἰχθυοτροφεῖον ἐποίησεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν θεμάτων κατεχομένων δεσμίων ἠρέυνησε καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ἔλυτρώσατο, ὡς πάντας σωτήρια ἐπευφημοῦν τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ χριστομίμητον ἄνακτα Κωνσταντῖνον. Τὴν δὲ ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν οὕτως ἐτίμησεν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν βεβασιλευκότων· καὶ ὄντινα γνῶσιν ἔχοντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νόμους φύσιν καὶ ἐπιτηδειότητα εὐρηκῶς ἦν, προανεβίβασεν καὶ εἰς ὑψηλότερον θρόνον ἀποκατέστησεν. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν δικαιοδοσίαν καὶ εὐνομίαν ἐν πάσιν, ὡς τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου αὐτὴν φιλοσοφούντος καὶ κατασπαζομένου. Καὶ νόμον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐξέθετο· ἰδὼν γὰρ πολὺ πλεονεκτικὸν παρὰ τῶν ἀκορέστων ἐκχυθὲν καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ χωρίων ὑπείσελθόντων ἀρχόντων καὶ τοὺς ταλαιπώρους πένητας καταδυναστευόντων, καὶ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν τῶν δυνατῶν προάστεια προσκτησαμένων διὰ ποικίλης τῆς μεθόδου αἰτίας, ἔγνωσεν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τούτων ἀφαίρεσιν. Τί ποιεῖ ὁ σοφὸς ἐν πάσιν; Συναγαγὼν τῇ ὑπὸ χεῖρα βουλευτικῇ ποιεῖται μεθόδῳ, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως αὐτοῦ ὑπείσελθόντας πλουσίους καὶ ἐξωνησαμένους ἢ δωρησαμένους καὶ κατακρατήσαντας τόπια ἢ ἀγροὺς εἰς χωρία ἀναργύρους ἐκ- | διώκεσθαι, καὶ μικρὸν τι τῆς λώβης καὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας τῶν ἀκορέστων ἀπερράπισεν.

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students, making them companions and table guests each day and furnishing stipends and engaging in kindly companionship with them. Not much time passed and they set right the great sciences and arts with the adulation and intelligence of the sovereign, and he selected from among them and honoured them as judges and *antigraphais* and metropolitans, and he adorned and enriched the Roman state with wisdom.⁶¹ |

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- 15 Moreover he restored like new the imperial garments and the crowns and diadems damaged for a long time, and he beautified the Boukoleon⁶² with statues he brought from different places and constructed a fish tank⁶³ there. Moreover he sought out and investigated the prisoners confined in the prisons of the City and of the themes outside [the City] and freed them from their bonds so that all were praising the good and Christ-imitating ruler Constantine as a saviour.⁶⁴ He so honoured virtue and knowledge as did no other of the prior emperors; and whomever he found having knowledge and a natural disposition and fitness for the law he promoted and placed in a higher position. One could see judicial administration and adherence to the law in all, as the Porphyrogenetos pursued and embraced this. The sovereign even promulgated a law;⁶⁵ for seeing the great greed given free rein by the insatiable officials who were insinuating themselves into the midst of districts and villages and oppressing the wretched poor, and seeing the powerful rapaciously gaining possession of estates through varied and tricky means, he decided to remove them. What did the all-wise man do? Gathering with his advisory council, he decreed that after his proclamation the wealthy who were insinuating themselves and buying and being given and gaining control of lands or fields or⁶⁶ villages, should be driven out without compensation, |

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61 For a discussion of the passage, also found in Skylitzes, *Synopsis* (Constantine VII, chap. 3, Thurn 1973, 238), see Lemerle 1986, 306–307.

62 On this quarter of Constantinople with a palace and harbour see *ODB* 1:317.

63 Cf. the *Vita Basilii* (Ševčenko 2011, chap. 92, 338:5–9) for fish tanks in the Palace for the delight and entertainment of the emperors.

64 The manuscript has πάντες not πάντας, and in abbreviated form σρ̄τα, where the Bonn edition prints σωτηρία. I have conjectured σωτήρα, which is also the form found in the related passage in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 6, line 5.

65 For the decree see McGeer 2000, 61–67 and for his translation of the following passage, 62. See also Laiou 1994, 167–168.

66 Reading ἦ for εἰς with Vat. gr. 163, chap. 7.

- 16 Ὁ δὲ ἐπιεικῆς καὶ γαληνὸς δεσπότης οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν προσιόντων ἀμφισβητήσεις καὶ δικαιολογίας καὶ στάσεις ἀπέγραφεν τοῦ δικάζειν δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς συνδικάζειν οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο. Παρισταμένων τῷ ἐκείνου βήματι τῶν τε δικαζόντων τῶν τε συνηγορούντων τῶν δικαζομένων, ἀπεκρούετο τὰς τούτων δικαιολογίας καὶ τὰς ἀπάτας αὐτῶν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν αὐτοῦ διέφυγεν, οὐ ψεῦδος ἀληθεία συγκείμενον, οὐ τὸ πιθανὸν τῇ διηγήσει συγκεραυνύμενον, οὐ περιεργοὶ συγγραφαὶ καὶ κρύβδην συντεθειμέναι, οἵτινες καὶ τοὺς ἄγαν δραστηρίου διέλαθον ἐν ἀληθείας παραπετάσματι. Ἐντεύθεν τῷ φόβῳ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως παιδαγωγηθέντες, δικαστῆς δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος τῆς δίκης τῷ ἡδικηκότι ἐγένετο.
- 17 Χρῆ οὖν περὶ κοινῶν φροντίδων τοῦ ἀνακτος καὶ τῶν ἀπείρων διορθωμάτων καὶ διοικημάτων αὐτοῦ ἐξειπεῖν. Τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ γὰρ στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν πρωτονοταρίων καὶ τῶν ἐν κώμαις ἐπαρχίαις τε καὶ πόλεσιν, ἔτι μὴν καὶ εἰς ἀρχηγοὺς ἐθνῶν ἀποστελλομένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀναγινωσκομένων, εὐθύς τὸ φρόντισμα αὐτῶν διωρίζετο τί μὲν δεόν περὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἀνατολῆς γεγενῆσθαι τί δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀφ' Ἑσπέρας, καὶ τούτοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὡσπερ πτηνὸς διήρχετο, πρεσβείας δεχόμενος, ἄρχουσιν ἐπιστέλλων, τὰς προπετῶς γεγενημένας μεταβολὰς ἐπαν-ιορθούμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς Κωνσταντῖνος βουλευτῆς, φροντιστῆς, στρατηγός, στρατιώτης, στρατάρχος, ἡγεμῶν ἀνεφαίνετο. Καὶ τίς ἂν τὰ τοιοῦτου προτερήματα ἐξείποι ἢ φράσῃ;
- 18 Χρῆ οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ νοσοκομείου τοῦ ὀσίου ἐξειπεῖν. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος θεασάμενος αὐτὸ σμικρότατον οἰκοδομαῖς μακροτάταις κατασκευάζει, ὡς ἐπισυνάγεσθαι πάντας τοὺς τοιαύδε νοσῶν κυριευομένους, καὶ ἀλείμμασι τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν περιχρίων, χορηγίας ἀνελλιπεῖς αὐτοῖς παρέχων, εἰς αἰωνίζουσαν μνήμην τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς κατέλιπεν.

- 16 The fair and gentle sovereign did not refuse to serve personally as a judge regarding the disputes and pleas and contentions of those coming forward; moreover, he did not hesitate to serve together with the judges. But with the judges and the advocates of the defendants standing at his tribunal, he was rebutting their pleas and deceits. For nothing escaped his sagacity, not falsehood compounded with truth, not something plausible mingled with verbiage, not overwrought written statements secretly contrived which under a facade of truth escape the notice of even those who are quite competent. As a result, schooled by fear before the decision, each party to the trial became of their own accord the judge of the wrongdoer.⁶⁷
- 17⁶⁸ One must speak about the state concerns of the ruler and his boundless improvements and administrative actions. When letters were dispatched from *strategoï* and imperial *protonotarioï* everywhere and [officials] in villages and districts and cities, moreover indeed also from⁶⁹ foreign peoples to leaders, these he read, and straightway he determined their thinking regarding what had to happen concerning issues from the East and what concerning those from the West, and generally he went through these [quick] as a bird, receiving embassies, sending orders to officials, correcting changes made too hastily. | The same Constantine was clearly an adviser, a mediator, a *strategos*, a soldier, a *stratiarchos*, a leader.⁷⁰ Who could detail or recount the achievements of such a man? 449
- 18 One must speak about the hospital of the saint.⁷¹ When the Emperor Constantine (VII) saw how very small it was, he furnished it with very large buildings, so that all those overcome by serious illness might be gathered together; and anointing their flesh with unguents, providing them unstinting supplies, he left an eternal memorial to our descendants.

67 On the passage as reflecting the importance of “personal justice, exercised by the emperor himself” see Laiou 1994, 168–169.

68 On the passage see Toynbee’s 1973 translation, 248.

69 Reading with the manuscript τῶν following καί, lacking in the Bonn edition.

70 On the passage and related depiction of Constantine VII in the text as a forerunner of the “emperor who leads the army against the infidels” see Markopoulos 1994, 166.

71 i.e. Sampson the Hospitable (died ca. 530), a citizen of Constantinople who devoted his time to serving the poor of the city. On the hospital see Janin 1969, 561–562 and Miller 1990.

- 19 Δεῖ δὲ λέγειν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μετασκευασθέντος στάβλου εἰς γηροκομεῖον. Ὅπισθεν γὰρ καὶ πλησίον τῆς πανθαυμάστου ἐκακλησίας τῆς μεγάλης στάβλος ἦν τῶν ἱππαρίων τοῦ πατριάρχου Θεοφυλάκτου· καὶ τοῦτον ἰδὼν ὁ ἀγαθός, οὐ δίκαιον κρίνας οἰκητήριον μετεποιήσατο καὶ γηροκομεῖον τοῦτο κατεσκεύασεν, καὶ πρὸς χορηγίαν τροφῶν καὶ περιβολαίων τοὺς ἐκείσε ἐτύπωσεν ἐτησίως λαμβάνειν.
- 20 Δεῖ οὖν καὶ περὶ τῆς στεγῆς τῶν δεκαεννέα ἀκουβίτων διηγῆσασθαι· ὁρῶν γὰρ ταύτην σεσαθρωμένην καὶ καταπίπτουσαν καὶ εἰς ἀκοσμίαν πολλὴν οὖσαν, ταύτην ἀνακαινίζει. Τῆς γὰρ κεχρυσωμένης αὐτῆς ὀροφῆς τῷ χρόνῳ διερρουηκυίας, αὐτὸς ταύτην προελὼν νεοφανῆ καὶ λαμπρὰν ἀνέδειξεν. Κοιλότητος γὰρ ὀκταγώνους συντέθεικεν, καὶ ταύτας ὁπαῖς καὶ σχήμασι ποικίλοις δια- | γλύφοις κεκοσμη- 450
κώς, εἰς ἀμπέλων ἔλικας καὶ φύλλα καὶ δένδρων ἰδέας σχηματιζομένας, καὶ ταύτας χρυσῷ περιραντίσας, τοσοῦτον εὐπρεπὲς παρέσχεν ὡς ἐξίστασθαι τοὺς πρὸς θεωρίαν ὁρῶντας.
- 21 Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμανῷ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ παλάτια κατεσκεύασεν πλείονα τῶν παλαιῶν βασιλέων, οἴκους ἐκ βάρων ἐγείρας· ὧν τινῶν δόμων τὸ πολυσχημάτιστον καὶ εἰς πολλὰ τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκπλήττον καὶ διαμερίζον θαῦμα τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἐντίθησιν. Τὸν δὲ Τετράκογχον τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου εἰκονίσματα διάφορα ἐξετύπωσεν, καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν καλλονὴν ἀποβεβληκῆναι, νέαν δὲ ἐγκαινίσασθαι, πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ σχήματα καὶ εἰκονίσματα ἐξέθετο.
- 22 Τὴν δὲ τῆς ζωγραφίας τέχνην τοσοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἠπίστατο ὡς οὐκ οἶμαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν μετ' αὐτόν. Πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς πονούντων ἐπηνώρθει, καὶ διδάσκαλος ἄριστος ἀνεφαίνετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐφαίνετο μόνον ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐθαυμάζετο, καὶ θάμβος μέγας τοῖς ὁρώσιν, ὧν οὐ μεμάθηκεν, ἐχρημάτιζεν. Τῶν δὲ τεχνιτῶν ἐπιδιορθώσεις τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου τίς ἐξείποι; Λιθοξόους καὶ τέκτονας καὶ χρυσοστίκτας καὶ ἀργυροκόπους καὶ σιδηροκόπους ἐπανώρθου, καὶ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἄριστος ὁ ἄναξ ἀνεφαίνετο.

- 19 It is necessary to talk also about the stable converted into a home for the elderly. For behind and near the all-wondrous Great Church was a stable for the wretched horses of the patriarch Theophylaktos. When the good man saw this, he judged it unjust and transformed the building and built it as a home for the elderly.⁷² And he decreed that those there receive annually a supply of food and clothing.
- 20⁷³ It is necessary to describe the roof of the Hall of the Nineteen Couches.⁷⁴ For seeing this weakened and falling down and in a state of great disrepair, he renovated it. For its gilded roof had collapsed over time and he removed it and rendered it new and radiant. For he devised octagonal coffers and decorated these with openings and varied carved forms | shaped like vine tendrils and leaves and kinds of trees, and he sprinkled them with gold, furnishing a thing so beautiful as to astonish those who saw the sight. 450
- 21 For the emperor Romanos, his son, he constructed more palaces than emperors of old, erecting buildings from the foundations. In some of these structures he incorporated the multi-formed wondrousness that generally astonishes and mesmerizes the mind and perceptions of those who see it. He had modelled in relief various images in the Tetraconch of the Apostle Paul,⁷⁵ and he removed⁷⁶ the ancient beauty, only to refashion a new one, and set forth in it many golden figures and images.
- 22⁷⁷ The man knew the art of painting so precisely, like no one I know of before or after him. For he corrected many of those who laboured at this, and appeared to be the best teacher, and not only appeared so but was admired by everyone, and to those who saw he was a great source of astonishment in what he had never [formally] learned. Who could tell of the Porphyrogenetos's corrections of the craftsmen? He corrected stonecutters and builders and goldsmiths and silversmiths and ironsmiths and in every respect the ruler appeared the best.

72 On such establishments see Janin 1969, 552–557, esp. 557.

73 Mango 1986, 208 translates this passage.

74 A banquet hall with couches for diners; see Malmberg 2007, 75–91.

75 A chapel originally built by Basil I (cf. the *Vita Basilii* [Ševčenko 2011, chap. 90]); see Janin 1969, 393 and Mango 1986, 208 n. 127 who describes it as a “cruciform building with a central bay” ... “surrounded by four semicircular lobes.”

76 Reading with the manuscript ἀποβεβλήκει.

77 Mango 1986, 208 translates this passage.

- 23 Τὰς δὲ ἀργυρᾶς πύλας τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου ὁ φιλόκαλος Κωνσταντῖνος ἐδείματο, καὶ τράπεζαν ἀργυρᾶν ἢ ἐκείνου φιλοπονία πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν δαιτυμόνων καὶ καλλωπισμὸν τοῦ | ἀριστητηρίου κατεσκεύασεν, πολυχρόοις ὕλαις καὶ πλαξί καὶ 451 αὐτοφυεῖ χροιά καλλύνας, πλείονα τῆς ἐκ τῆς τῶν βρωμάτων γλυκύτητος τοῖς κεκλημένοις τὴν τέρψιν παρέχουσαν.
- 24 Καὶ πορφυρᾶν φυλακὴν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτοῦ ἐδείματο, δοχεῖον τῶν ὑδάτων δημιουργήσας, ἣν στύλοις μαρμαρέοις περιεκύκλωσεν λειότητος αὐτοῖς ὑπαυγαζούσης. Τί οὖν ἢ μεγάλωφρων ψυχῇ; Ἄετὸν ἐξ ἀργύρου τῆ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπίστησιν αὐλῶ, οὐκ ὀρθὸν βλέποντα ἀλλ' ἀπεστραμμένον καταπλάγιον, ὑψαυχενοῦντα καὶ σοβαρευόμενον ὡς ἀπὸ τινος θήρας, ὄφιν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ περιειληθέντα καὶ πνίγοντα. Καὶ μουσοστίκτων εἰκόνων ἐντέχνων τῶν ἐκ χρωμάτων ὑλῶν καὶ μορφῶν τὸ διάφορον ἐν τοῖς προφυλαίοις τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐδείματο.
- 25 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ναυπηγίας ἄπειρος ἦν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ· διωρίζετο γὰρ πολεμικῶν νηῶν κατασκευὴν, καὶ οἷς ξύλοις ἀρμόζειν καὶ κλείσεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρμονίας, καὶ ὅπως πρὸς ἄλληλα ἔχουσι.
- 26 Περὶ δὲ τῶν παλατίων τῶν Ἠρία ἀναλογίζομαι τῆ διανοίᾳ ὁποίοις ὁ πορφυρογέννητος ἐδείματο ἠδέσει καὶ τερπνοῖς, πρότερον οὖσαν τοῖς Χαλκηδονίοις εἰς ταφήν. Νῦν δὲ τέτρασιν ἀψίσιν ἐπιβεβηκυῖα, καὶ τὰς τούτων γωνίας ἐτέρας βασιλικᾶς οἰκίας ἀποτελοῦσα, ταῖς τῶν θερινῶν ἀνέμων καὶ πνευμάτων περι- |κυκλουμένων πνοιαῖς, 452 οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν εἰς πόσῃ θυμηδίαν καὶ χαρὰν ἐμβάλλει τὸν ἐκεῖσε ἐναπαυόμενον.

- 23 The beauty-loving Constantine built the silver doors of the Chrysotriklinos⁷⁸ and his industriousness created a silver table for the reception of the guests and the beautification of the | breakfast room.⁷⁹ He decorated it with multi-coloured materials and plaques and its own natural [silver] colour, [so] it provided to the guests a greater delight than the sweetness of the food. 451
- 24 He constructed a porphyry guardhouse⁸⁰ in front of his chamber,⁸¹ creating a receptacle for water, which he surrounded with marble columns of gleaming smoothness. What then did the noble soul do? He set up a silver eagle on the water pipe, not looking straight ahead, but turned sideways with neck raised and haughty as if from some catch, and choking a snake caught in its talons. In the forecourt of the imperial chamber he created a variety of artistic, mosaic-like images of [various] colours, materials, and forms.
- 25 Now the sovereign was not unacquainted with shipbuilding. He ordered the preparation of warships, and with what woods to join their thwarts and joints,⁸² and how these relate to one another.
- 26 Concerning the Palaces of the Heria,⁸³ on reflection I recollect with what sweetness and delights the Porphyrogennetos built them, on a former burial site for the Chalcedonians. It is mounted now on four arches, rendering the corners of these into other imperial structures, amid the wafting of the summer winds and encircling breezes; | one cannot describe into how much pleasure and joy it casts the one reposing⁸⁴ there. 452

78 On the hall see *ODB* 1:455–456 and Featherstone 2005.

79 For its likely location in the “third vault on the Southern side, just to the right of the Eastern apse” see Featherstone 2005, 851.

80 The chapter is translated by Mango 1986, 208. The revised version of Symeon the Logothete in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 8 calls the structure a *φιάλη* (“basin”) rather than a “guardhouse,” a reading perhaps more appropriate to the context. On the likely apotropaic significance of the eagle/snake fountain with specific reference to this passage see Maguire 2000, esp. 26–27.

81 The emperor’s private apartments.

82 See *LSJ* *ἀρμολία* s.v. “joints, as between a ship’s planks.”

83 The manuscript has *ἡρία* here and *ἡρίας* below in chap. 27, while the related passage in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 8 has *Ἱερία*. See Mango 1986, 208 n. 129 who comments on the vagueness of the description. Hieria was an Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, see *ODB* 2:929 and Janin 1964, 148–150, 498–499. The palace there was originally constructed by Justinian I (see Procopius, *Aed.* 1.3.10, 1.11.16–22); these are additions.

84 Reading with the manuscript *ἐπαναπαυόμενον*.

- 27 Τί ἂν εἴποι τις περί τῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ τῆς τῶν βασιλίδων οἰκοδομῆς; Καί ταῦτα γάρ τῆς Ἡρίας τοῦ σχήματος καί τῆς φιλοκαλίας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι καί ἀποστίλβοντι καί τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους τέρψεως ἀναδιδομένης εὐωδίᾳ, διὰ τὸ ἐπανορθοῦν αὐτῶν κάλλος, καί κατὰ πολὺ διαφέροντα καί ὑπερκείμενον, οἷος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων πλησίον νεουρηγθεῖς ναός, καλὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν, ὠραῖος δὲ θαυμάσαι. Εἰ γάρ καί τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς παλαιότητος ἀποδεῖ, ἀλλά γε τῆς ἔνδον φαιδρότητος πόρρω καθέστηκε. Τί δὲ ὁ πιστὸς βασιλεύς; Πατρικίον τὸν Βελωνῶν Θεόδωρον ὡς συνεργὸν τοῦ λαμπροῦ καί κατηγλαΐσμένου ναοῦ ἐποίησεν.
- 28 Τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν καί πέπλων ὧν παρεῖχεν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἱλαστήριον τὸ μέγα καί πανθαύμαστον τίς ἐξείποι; Ὅσακις ἀφίκετο, οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἐναντίον θεοῦ ὀφθῆναι κενός, ἀλλ' ἀναθήμασι μεγάλοις καί χρυσοτεύκτοις καί μαργαρίταις καί λίθοις καί ὑφάσμασιν ἐδεξιούτο καί ἀντημείβετο· ἃ καί τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια κατακοσμοῦσι καί καταγλαΐζουσι καί τῷ προσεσηνοχότι Κωνσταντίνῳ κηρύττεται.
- 29 Τοῦ δὲ πατρικίου Βασιλείου Ἐξαμιλίτου καί στρατηγοῦ τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν ταξείδιον χρή διηγῆσασθαι. Οὗτος ὁ πατρικίος Βασίλειος στρατηγὸς ὢν τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν, νέος τῷ σώ- | ματι, πολιδὸς τῇ φρονήσει καί μείζω τῆς ἡλικίας τὴν πολυπειρίαν ἐνδεικνύμενος, πολεμικῶν караβίων ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ ἐξωρμημένων καί Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄντων περιφανῶν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῦς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἑώρα πρὸς τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς χώρας προσβάλλοντας, λογιζομένους ὡς νοσσιὰν περιλαβεῖν αὐτάς, ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς οὕτως αὐτῷ νῆας ἀντιπαραταξάμενος, καί ταύτας ὀλιγοστάς οὔσας καί πρὸς τοσοῦτον οὐκ ἀρκούσας τὸ πλήθος· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν γνώμην καί τὴν προαίρεσιν

27 What can one say about the [characteristics]⁸⁵ of the building for the empresses in another location? For these had the surpassing quality and brightness of form and love of beauty of the Heria, and with a fragrance of delight wafted up from the ground through the flowering⁸⁶ beauty there, indeed a greatly different and surpassing [beauty]; likewise the newly constructed church⁸⁷ near the Holy⁸⁸ Apostles,⁸⁹ beautiful to see, pleasant to admire and to consider for its interior majesty.⁹⁰ For if it falls short of the magnitude of antiquity, still indeed it excels in its interior brilliance. What did the faithful emperor do? He made Theodore Belonas *patrikios*, since he shared in the work of construction of the bright and radiant church.

28⁹¹ Who could tell of the sacred objects and fabrics that he provided to the common sanctuary, the great and all-wondrous one?⁹² Whenever he came, he did not think it right to appear before God empty-handed, but he presented the greatest gold-wrought offerings and pearls and gems and woven cloths, and made recompense. These both beautified and glorified the holy of holies and herald the one who brought them, Constantine.

29 One must describe the expedition of Basil Hexamilites⁹³ *patrikios* and *strategos* of the Kibyrrhaiotai.⁹⁴ This *patrikios* Basil was *strategos* of the Kibyrrhaiotai, a young man physically | [but] mature in mind and exhibiting significant experience greater than his years. After warships⁹⁵ set forth from Tarsos, the Hagarenes in them were visible everywhere. The *strategos* saw them attacking Roman lands intending to seize them as their nest, and thus drew up his ships in counter-formation;⁹⁶ these were few in number and not a match for such a multitude. But since he had a purpose and plan stronger

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85 The grammar of this passage, including the article τῶν here, is problematic at a number of points.

86 Reading with the manuscript ἐπανθοῦν αὐτῷ.

87 A chapel of Saint Theophano, see Janin 1969, 48.

88 Reading with the manuscript ἄγιων, lacking in the Bonn edition.

89 On Holy Apostles see Janin 1969, 41–51.

90 After θαυμάσαι the manuscript has καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς εὐπρεπείαν ἀναλογισασθαι, lacking in the Bonn edition.

91 The passage is translated by Mango 1986, 209.

92 St Sophia.

93 The battle took place off Lycia in 956. See Vasilev 1935–1968, 2.1, 360.

94 “The first and most important naval theme” (*ODB* 2:1127), based at Antalya.

95 The term here is καράβιον, on which see Pryor and Jeffreys 2006, xlii, 164–165, and 188–189.

96 On the importance of the tactic see Pryor and Jeffreys 2006, 399–400.

εἶχεν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολεμικῶν караβίων κραταιοτέραν καὶ τὴν μετὰ φρονήσεως τόλμαν πολλῶν συμμάχων ἰσχυροτέραν, συγγίνονται ἄμφω, καὶ συμβολὴ τῶν караβίων ἀνεφαίνετο, καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλων πόλεμος ἀνεκρούετο, καὶ βιαίος τις ἀλαλαγμὸς καὶ ὠθισμὸς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν караβίων ἐκρούετο, ἕως αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς Βασίλειος μέσον τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενος, ἔνδον εἰσπηδήσας, οὐδὲ γεγονότος καὶ πυρὸς ἐνύγρου πάντοθεν τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περικυκλώσαντος αὐτίκα ἠττῶντο καὶ κατεσφάττοντο καὶ δέσμιοι εἰς δουλείαν συνελαμβάνοντο, αὐτῶν πρὸ πάντων τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ καϊτῶν ζωγρηθέντων. Καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸν εὐτυχῆ βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον ἐξαπέστειλεν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵππικῷ ἐθριάμβευσεν.

- 30 Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ Κωνσταντῖνος στρατιωτικὴν δύναμιν κατὰ τῶν Λογγιβάρδων καὶ Νεαπολιτῶν ὄρισας, καὶ ἀρχηγὸν αὐτῶν τὸν πατρίκιον Μαρριανὸν ἀποστείλας, διὰ τὸ στασιάσαι τὰ Ἑσπέρια καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ζεύγλης τοὺς δεσμοὺς διαρρηξίαι. Καὶ | γὰρ κατεθρασύνθησαν ὅσοι τὴν Λαγγοβαρδιαν ἐκλήρωσαντο χώραν εἰς κατοικίαν, καὶ ὅσοι τὴν Καλαβρίαν, τοῦτο θαρροῦντες διὰ τὸ πόρρω καὶ μακρὰν εἶναι τῆς βασιλίδος. Διὰ τοῦτο συνεχῶς τὰς ἀποστασίας ποιοῦμενοι εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀνυποταξίας ἔφθασαν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς πάκτα διδόναι καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ κάστρα καὶ κώμας τὰς πλησιαζούσας μαχαίρα καὶ ξίφει ἀνελεῖν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Νεαπολίται τῆς ὑποταγῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπορρυέντες τὰ δούλα πράττειν ὠμολόγησαν, πρὸς φανεράν ἀποστασίαν τραπέντες. "Ἰν' οὖν μήτε τὸ στασιάσαν πλήθος ἐπιπλεονάσωσι τὸ ἀλαζονικὸν ὡς τὰ ὑπήκοα Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη δουλωσάμενοι, οὐκ ἐνεγκῶν ὁ πορφυρογέννητος στρατεύμασι Θρακικοῖς καὶ Μακεδονικοῖς τούτους ἀμύνεται, καὶ ναυσὶ πολεμικαῖς μετὰ ὑγροῦ πυρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναστέλλει αὐθάδειαν καὶ μωρίαν· καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τὴν Νεάπολιν ὁ πατρίκιος Μαρριανὸς ὁ Ἀργυρὸς ἐπιπεσῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ, ὅσα μὲν πρὸς τὴν γῆν πάντα κατέκαυσαν, ὅσας δὲ ἐκβολὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἠσφαλίσαντο, καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτοὺς περικυκλώσαντες, τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πιεζόμενοι καὶ ταπεινούμενοι, πρὸς δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίας τῷ ἄνακτι Κωνσταντίνῳ ἀνέπεμπον, ὑποδουλούμενοι ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Λογγίβαρδοι καὶ οἱ Καλαβροὶ ἐποιοῦντο· διὸ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς Σικελίας σύμφωνα εἰρηνικὰ ἐπετέλουν.

than the multitude of the enemy warships and a daring combined with prudence more powerful than many allies, the two sides met; a clash of the ships ensued, and battle burst forth on both sides and there was loud shouting and shoving erupted from the ships of both, until the *strategos* Basil himself came into the midst of the deniers of Christ, plunging within. When this occurred and liquid fire was surrounding the deniers of Christ on all sides, they were immediately defeated and slaughtered and taken as prisoners into slavery, with their leaders and officials and commanders⁹⁷ especially being taken alive. He dispatched these [captives] to the City to the successful emperor Constantine and he paraded them in the Hippodrome.⁹⁸

- 30 The sovereign Constantine decided to send military forces⁹⁹ against the Lombards and Neapolitans and dispatched as their commander the *patrikios* Marianos, because the West revolted and broke the bonds of the Roman yoke strap.¹⁰⁰ For indeed | all who obtained the Lombardian land to live in and all who obtained Calabria encouraged this in their boldness, because of their remoteness and distance from the queen of cities. Therefore they continually engaged in rebellions [and] came to such a degree of unruliness as to make a pact with the Hagarenes and to seize with blade and sword the neighbouring cities and towns and villages. But even the Neapolitans lapsed from submission to Christ [and] agreed to do the work of slaves, turning to open rebellion. Lest the multitude in revolt increase their arrogance, as they had enslaved peoples subject to the Romans, the Porphyrogennetos, unable to bear it, opposed them with the Thracian and Macedonian armies, and restrained their boldness and folly with warships [and] with liquid fire. By land and sea the *patrikios* Marianos Argyros attacked Naples with the Roman army; everything on the land they burned, all the outlets they secured from the sea, and they surrounded them everywhere. Crushed and humbled by famine and captivity they sent entreaties and supplications to the ruler Constantine, having been rendered subjects as from the beginning. This was the action of the Lombards and Calabrians; consequently also the barbarians of Sicily completed similar peace agreements.

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97 The term is καττης, on which see *LBG*, "(arab. *qā'id*)."

98 For Constantine VII's reference to the battle in a later speech to the troops see McGeer 2003, 131 with n. 78. Canard 1951, 793 and Pryor and Jeffreys 2006, 72 suggest the victory played a role in the subsequent success in Crete.

99 See Vasiliev 1935–1968, 2.1, 371–378.

100 In 955 or 956, see Falkenhausen 1978, 39, 83–84, 132. For Constantine VII's reference to the battle in a later speech to the troops see McGeer 2003, 132 with n. 83.

- 31 Καὶ δεῖ θαυμάσαι καὶ τὸν πρὸς τῶν Ἀφρικῶν πόλε- | μων, αὐτίκα συνεπλέκοντο 455
καὶ συνερρήγγυντο, καὶ τῶν νηῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλων συμπλοκὴν· καὶ δὴ ἀνέμου βιαίου
πνεύσαντος, ἡμῖν μὲν συμμαχοῦντος καὶ βοηθοῦντος, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάρους πολεμοῦν-
τος καὶ ἀνθισταμένου, τὴν ἦτταν εἶχον ἀκόλουθον, σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς
ναυσὶ τῷ βυθῷ παραδιδόμενων. Καὶ δὴ ὁ ἀμηρᾶς αὐτῶν σπονδὰς εἰρηνικὰς τῷ βασι-
λεῖ ἐξελιπάρει. Καὶ οὐ μόνον οὗτοι τὴν δούλωσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὠμολόγησαν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς Γαλλίας οἰκοῦντες πανοικί βάρβαροι παρεῖχον πρὸς τὸν πορφυρογέν-
νητον ἄνακτα τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην, καὶ δώροις μεγαλοπρεπέσι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκρά-
τορα μετὰ ὄψιδας αὐτῶν ἔστελλον· καὶ πάντας εἰς ὑποταγὴν ἢ τύχῃ τοῦ πορφυρο-
γεννήτου εἰς δουλείαν καὶ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν.
- 32 Ὅ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς Αἰγύπτου τὴν μεγάλην νίκην τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκηκῶς καὶ τὴν πολε-
μικὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἦτταν τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, γράμμασιν αὐτίκα φιλικοῖς
τὸ μάχιμον αὐτοῦ ἀποβάλλεται καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται εἰς ἐνότητα. Ὅ δὲ τῆς Περσίδος
ἀμηρᾶς, ἐπειδὴ διαφόρως τοῖς Ῥωμαῖκοῖς ἐνέτυχεν στρατεύμασι καὶ προσβολαῖς
καὶ πολέμοις διαφόροις ἠττήθη, ἀγάπης δεσμῷ καταλλάσσεται πρὸς τὸν βασι-
λέα. Καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὄψιδας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει· οἵτινες πρὸς τὴν κατάξηρον
γῆν ἐκείνην ἀφικόμενοι, τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ τὸν τάφον προσκυνήσαντες καὶ
κατασπασάμενοι, καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς κατασταλείσας λαμπάδας ὑπανάψαντες, καὶ 456
ἐμπορευσάμενοι λίθων τιμίων καὶ μαργαριτῶν. | Εἰς τοσοῦτον γὰρ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
μεγάλων κατορθωμάτων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ κεχάριστο, ὡς ἄλλα ἐξ ἄλλων συλλέγων
καὶ συναθροίζων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀξιέραστον μεταφέρων.

- 31 It is necessary to marvel at the war against the Africans. | Immediately the [two sides] engaged and clashed, and the ships were entangled with one another. Indeed a strong wind was blowing, an ally and aid to us, but hostile and opposing for the barbarians. They were defeated as a result with their arms and ships consigned to the deep.¹⁰¹ And indeed their emir¹⁰² begged the emperor for a peace treaty. They not only agreed to subjugation to the emperor, but even the barbarians living in Gaul¹⁰³ with all their families showed their goodwill toward the ruler born in the purple and sent to the sovereign magnificent gifts with their hostages. The good fortune of the Porphyrogenetos led all into submission, into subjection, under the yoke. 455
- 32 The emir of Egypt,¹⁰⁴ on hearing of the great victory of the Romans and the naval battle in the war and the defeat of the deniers of Christ, immediately with letters of friendship cast aside his hostility and promised unity. The emir of Persia,¹⁰⁵ since he had encountered the Roman armies on various occasions and suffered defeat in attacks and different wars, reconciled with the emperor with a bond of affection. The sovereign sent him hostages, who on coming to that parched land made obeisance at and embraced the tomb of the apostle Thomas,¹⁰⁶ and lit lamps sent by the emperor, and purchased precious gems and pearls. | For the sovereign with his other great accomplishments enjoyed collecting and assembling different objects from different places and transferring them to a place worthy of love. 456

101 Apparently a reference to the battle off Mazara in southwestern Sicily in 957 where the Fatimid fleet under Hasan al-Kalbi was defeated after being damaged by a storm. See Brett 2001, 241 and Halm 1996, 395.

102 Abu Tamim Maad al-Mu'izz (*PmbZ* #25444). The treaty did not come for another year and only after another Arab fleet was destroyed by a storm near Otranto before any battle took place. The request for a treaty also seems to have been initiated by the Byzantines, not al-Mu'izz. See Brett 2001, 241, Halm 1996, 403–404, and Stern 1950.

103 i.e., the Muslims of Fraxinet; see Vasiliev 1935–1968, 2.1, 377 and more generally Ballan 2010.

104 Here perhaps a reference to Káfúr (*PmbZ* #23596) although the *PmbZ* entry does not refer to this passage. Al-Mu'izz's reaction is mentioned in the previous passage and the Fatamids did not take Egypt until 969.

105 Mu'izzaddawla (*PmbZ* #25445)? See Dölger (1977) #671a, who notes that the description of warfare here between the “emir of Persia” and Byzantium is not otherwise attested and that Sayf al-Dawla might be meant, although he is never so referred to in the Byzantine sources.

106 In Edessa where the tomb of Thomas was attested by Ephrem and Egeria (see Meyers 2010, 35) and from where the Mandylion had been obtained in 944. On the events surrounding the Mandylion's entry into Constantinople as a portent for the sole reign of Constantine VII, see Runciman 1929, repr. 1988, 229–230.

- 33 Χρῆ οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου διηγήσασθαι· ὁ μηχανικώτατος ἄναξ πολυ-
ανθῆ τινὰ καὶ εὐδομον ῥοδωνιὰν εἶναι, τῶν πολυχρῶν [ἀνθῶν] καὶ λεπτοτάτων
διαφόρων ψηφίδων ἀνθῶν ἀρτιφυῶν χροιάς μιμουμένων· οἱ μέσοι τῶν ἑλικοειδῶν
συμπλοκῶν περικλειόμενοι καὶ τῇ συνθέσει διαμορφούμενοι τὸ ἀσύγκριτον ἀπο-
φέρονται. Ἀργύρφω τοῦτο ἐστεφάνωσε, καὶ δίκην ἄντυγος τοῦτο περιλαβὼν τοῖς
ὀρώσιν ἀκόρεστον ἐπιχορηγεῖ τὴν τέρψιν.
- 34 Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς πολίτας ἠγάπησεν ὡς οἰκεία αὐτοῦ ἔκγονα, καὶ πλέον, καὶ
αὐτοὺς περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο. Καὶ τοὺς ἐξ εἰγενοῦς φύντας ἐκλογὴν ἐποιεῖτο. Καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἀξιωματῶν καταλαμπρύνει τιμαῖς, τοὺς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπέσι φιλοτιμείται
δωρεαῖς, καὶ συνεστίους καὶ ὁμοδαίτους ποιεῖται, καὶ τὸ φίλτρον μᾶλλον ἐπηύξει
τῆς ἐκείνου εὐνοίας, καὶ ἀντὶ πολλῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ φρουρῶν καὶ σωτήρων
τούτους μᾶλλον προέκρινεν ὡς πιστοὺς καὶ φιλοδεσπότας, καὶ τῆς οἰκείας σωτη-
ρίας προκρίνειν τὸν ἀνακτα.
- 35 Τὴν δὲ δεξίωσιν τοῦ βρουμαλίου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου δεῖ ἐξειπεῖν. Ἔθος γὰρ τοῖς
πάλαι βασιλεύσι τελούμενον, καὶ | ὁ πορφυρογέννητος εἰς ἔργον τοῦτο ἐξήνεγ- 457
κεν. Τὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ τὸ τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ στοιχεῖον κάππα ἀποκεκλήρωται
λαμπροτάτην ἑορτάζων πανήγυριν, πολυάνθρωπον ταύτην δεικνύει. Καὶ ταῖς γὰρ
πολυτελέσι καὶ πολυόψοις ἐκείναις τραπέζαις τὴν σύγκλητον ἄπασαν δεξιούμε-
νος χορηγίαις εὐεργετικωτέραις τὸ φαιδρὸν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπολλαπλασιαζεν, σιρι-
κῶν περιβολαίων ἐπιδίδων, ἀργυρίων πολλῶν καὶ ἀπείρων, ἐσθημάτων ἀλουργῶν,
ξύλων Ἰνδικῶν εὐωδίας, ἃ οὐ τις ἀκήκοεν ἢ γεγονότα τεθέαται.

33¹⁰⁷ One must also describe the Chrysotriklinos.¹⁰⁸ The most clever ruler [made it into] a blossom-filled and fragrant rose garden, with multi-coloured and most delicate different mosaic cubes mimicking the colours of fresh-blooming flowers. The centres are enclosed with intertwined spirals and, formed by the combination, render something incomparable.¹⁰⁹ He crowned it with silver and, surrounding it as if with a moulding,¹¹⁰ provided the viewers inexhaustible delight.

34 The sovereign loved the citizens like his own offspring; even more, he also valued them highly. He made those of noble¹¹¹ birth his chosen ones.¹¹² Some of these he made illustrious with the honour of dignities,¹¹³ others he presented with magnificent gifts, and he made them his dinner guests and companions, and the affection of the man's goodwill increased further and he preferred them more than many bodyguards and watchmen and protectors, as being loyal and loving the emperor, and they preferred the ruler to their own safety.¹¹⁴

35 One must speak of the conviviality of the Broumalia¹¹⁵ of the Porphyrogennetos. For the custom was ended by the former emperors,¹¹⁶ and | the Porphyrogennetos brought it back into practice. For celebrating a most brilliant festival on the day to which the letter of his name, kappa, is assigned,¹¹⁷ he made it exceptionally popular. For receiving the entire senate with those lavish and luxurious tables, he multiplied the joyousness of the festival with more bountiful expenditures, bestowing silk coverings, much boundless silver, purple garments, sweet fragrances of Indian woods,¹¹⁸ which no one had heard of or seen.

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107 Translated by Mango 1986, 209.

108 On the "Golden Hall" see above chap. 23.

109 Mango 1986, 209 n. 132 comments, "Text unclear and grammatically incorrect."

110 Mango 1986, 209 n. 133 comments, "Probably referring to a cornice or entablature."

111 Reading with the manuscript εὐγενῶν.

112 Cf. 2 Pet. 1.10.

113 For a generic list of these see *ODB* 1:623.

114 Cf. the similar passage referring to Romanos II below at [471.3–10].

115 The festival of Dionysos with the arrival of the new wine, celebrated November 24 to December 17; see *ODB* 1:327–328 and Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cer.* 2.18 (Reiske 1829, 600–606).

116 On its termination by the emperor Romanos I ("on pretense of piety") see Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cer.* 2.18 (Reiske 1829, 606) and Magdalino 1988, 115.

117 There was one day for each letter of the alphabet, linked to the initial letter of an emperor's name; see Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cer.* 2.18 (Reiske 1829, 600).

118 i.e. aloewood used as incense.

- 36 Τὴν μουσικὴν οἶδεν πᾶς τις ὡς θεῖον τί ἐστὶν εὖρημα καὶ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει συντελοῦν. Τί οὖν ὁ εὐσεβὴς καὶ μεγαλοφρονέστατος ἄναξ; Ταύτης ἀντεποιεῖτο, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ὑμνεῖν τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἔληγεν. Ἐντεῦθεν πανηγύρεις φαιδραὶ κατεφαιδρύνοντο, καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων ἑορταὶ κατελάμποντο, ποιμένων ἱερῶν καὶ διδασκάλων μνήμαι περιηστράπτοντο. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐχαριτώθη ὡς χοροὺς ὑμνωδῶν συγκροτεῖν καὶ ἀρχηγούς τούτοις ἐπινοεῖν, αὐτὸς πρὸ πάντων τούτοις συνῶν καὶ τῶν ψαλλομένων ἐπακροώμενος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἠδυνόμενος καὶ χαϊρόμενος.
- 37 Οὕτως ἠγάπησεν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ πιστῶν, καὶ μνήμη λαμπροτάτη τετίμηκεν καὶ τὸ εὐφυὲς τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ἐπαινῶν τὴν συνθήκην τῶν λόγων καὶ περιβολῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν κύκλων σχοινοτενῆ καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων, ἐν οἷς τὸν τῆς μετανοίας κήρυκα λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀγλαῶς ἐμεγάλυνεν. |
- 38 Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα Ῥωμανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἐφίλησεν καὶ ἠγάπησεν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, καὶ τοῦτον πρὸ πάντων παρῆνει ἔχειν τὴν κατὰ θεὸν εὐσέβειαν, ἔπειτα καὶ λόγον καὶ ἦθος καὶ βᾶδισμα καὶ γέλωτα καὶ στολὴν καὶ καθέδραν καὶ στάσιν βασιλικὴν ἐξεπαίδευεν. Διὸ καὶ θείων ἐμφανειῶν ὁ πορφυρογέννητος ἠξιοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν προέφησεν “εἰ ταῦτα φυλάξης, μακρόβιος τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἔσῃ”.
- 39 Καὶ γυναῖκα τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμανῷ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ δέδωκεν οὖσαν ἐξ εὐγενῶν προγόνων, καλὴν μὲν τῷ σώματι, ωραίαν δὲ τῇ ὄψει, κοσμίαν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ, ὀνόματι

- 36 Everyone knows music as divine, a discovery of and benefit to human nature. What did the pious and most high-minded ruler do? He cultivated this and through it did not cease to praise the Divine in song. Thus joyous festivals were beaming with joy, and the feasts of martyrs illuminated, and the memorials of holy pastors and teachers made dazzling. For the man was so blessed as to organize choruses of singers and to devise leaders for them, and above all while he was personally with them and hearing the singing, he was delighted and pleased in his soul.
- 37 Like no one else of the faithful who preceded him he so loved and honoured with the most radiant commemoration also the genius of Chrysostom,¹¹⁹ praising his compounding of words and expansions, and the extensions of his circular figures and enthymemes,¹²⁰ with which he extolled brilliantly and splendidly the herald of repentance.¹²¹ |
- 38 Like no one else he had such affection and love for his son, the emperor Romanos (II), and advised him above all to have reverence for God, and then he taught him speaking and character and [proper] gait and laughter and apparel and imperial posture for standing and sitting. Wherefore the Porphyrogennetos was also deemed worthy of divine manifestations, and he predicted to him, “If you preserve these, you will have a long life as sovereign of the Romans.”¹²²
- 39 He gave the emperor Romanos his son a wife, who was from noble ancestors, physically beautiful, with a lovely face and well-ordered soul, Anastasia

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119 Perhaps a reference to the homily attributed to Constantine VII on the translation of the relics of Chrysostom; see Dyobouniotes 1926, Lemerle 1986, 313–314, and Ševčenko 1992, 171 n. 8 and 187 n. 49 with doubts about the attribution.

120 The rhetorical terminology appears to reflect the Hermogenic corpus.

121 i.e. John the Baptist, perhaps a reference to Chrysostom’s *Homily 10* “In Matthaëum” (PG 57, esp. 185–186). See, however, Ševčenko 1992, 171–172 n. 8 who sees the “herald of repentance” as Chrysostom, the author of *De paenitentia*.

122 The statement on Constantine’s education of Romanos II is taken virtually verbatim from that of Pulcheria’s education of Theodosios II as reported by Theophanes the Confessor *Chron.* (de Boor 1883/1963, 81:10–11). In that same passage Pulcheria is also said to be “worthy of divine manifestation.” Given Romanos’s short reign, it has been suggested that the following prediction may be an indication that the subsequent section on Romanos was written by another author (Ševčenko 1992, 169 n. 6) or that the text did not extend to the end of Romanos’s reign (Mango 2013, 3*, but with the added possibility that the statement is to be taken ironically), the latter view taken by Treadgold 2013, 215 and Featherstone 2016, 5*.

Ἀναστασίαν, τὴν τοῦ Κρατεροῦ θυγατέρα· ἢ καὶ ὀνομασθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Θεοφανῶ κατ' ἀξίαν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ φανείσαν καὶ ἐκλεχθεῖσαν. Καὶ νυμφικὴ παστὰς ἐγνωρίζετο καὶ ἐτελείτο ἐν τῷ πανθαυμάστῳ τρικλινῶ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ ῥινοτμήτου, καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ περιελάμπετο ἅμα Ἐλένη τῇ Αὐγούστῃ, ὡς τοιαύτης ἀρχαίας κόρης τῷ αὐτοῦ μνηστεύσαι.

40 Ἡ δὲ Αὐγούστα Ἐλένη νόσῳ τρυχομένη, ὁ φιλάγαθος ἄναξ οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν διαθέσει καὶ στοργῇ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐν πάσι τὰ καταθύμια αὐτῆς ἐπλήρου. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ Αὐγούστα ἡξίου παρὰ τοῦ νεωστὶ παρ' αὐτῆς κατασκευασθέντος ξενώνος καὶ γηροτροφείου εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν Πετρίν, τὸ λεγόμενον τὰ Ἐλένης, | διορίσασθαι 459 τὸν ἄνακτα προάστεια καὶ χρυσοβούλλια καὶ ἐξόδους· ἅτινα μετὰ χαρᾶς ὁ πορφυρογεννήτος ἐξεπλήρου. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν αὐτὴν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι ἡδυνομένην καὶ χαίρομένην, ὡς ἀπείρου πόθου καὶ πλούτου ταύτην παρέχων. Ἐχαιρεν δὲ πλείστον ὁρῶσα Ῥωμανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς βασιλέα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς Ζωὴν καὶ Θεοδώραν καὶ Ἀγάθην συνούσας καὶ συνευφραινομένας αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐφίλει, ἐν ἐξαιρέτῳ δὲ τῇ Ἀγάθῃ ὡς ἀόκνως λειτουργοῦσα τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὰς ἀρρωστίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταμηνύεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν σεκρέτων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τὰ διοικήματα· ἥτις καὶ μεσίτις ἀνεφαίνετο, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεφαίνετο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγνωρίζετο καὶ ἐγένετο.

41 Ὁ δὲ πορφυρογεννήτος διὰ τὸ τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν Βάρδαν τὸν λεγόμενον Φωκᾶν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν καὶ εἰς γῆρας ἐλάσαι τοῦ δομεστικάτου ἀποκινεῖ, καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προβάλλεται δομέστικον Νικηφόρον πατρίκιον καὶ στρατη-

by name, the daughter of Krateros;¹²³ she was appropriately renamed Theophano by the Porphyrogennetos as having appeared from and been chosen by God. The wedding ceremony was announced and performed in the all-wondrous *triklinos*¹²⁴ of Justinian (II) the Rhinotmetos, and joy and happiness shone around the Porphyrogennetos with Helena the *augousta*,¹²⁵ to bring about the marriage of a girl of such ancient [lineage] to their son.

40 Although the *augousta* Helena was worn out with illness, the ruler who loved the good did not yield in his attitude and affection for her, but in every respect he fulfilled her wishes. For the *augousta* asked that, regarding the hostel and home for the elderly recently constructed by her in the Old Petrin¹²⁶ and called the house of Helena, | that the ruler formally define its estates and chrysobulls and expenses, a request which the Porphyrogennetos fulfilled with joy. One could see her pleased and rejoicing in soul and body as he provided her with boundless love and wealth. She rejoiced very greatly seeing Romanos her son as emperor and her daughters Zoe and Theodora and Agatha being present and enjoying happiness with her and the emperor Constantine (VII). For he himself also honoured and loved [them], especially Agatha as she untiringly served the emperor when he was ill, and the emperor made known through her the administrative matters of bureaus¹²⁷ and officials; she seemed to be a mediator, and not only seemed so, but even was acknowledged as such and was so.

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41 Because the *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai* called Phokas was not capable¹²⁸ and had reached old age,¹²⁹ the Porphyrogennetos removed him from the domesticate,¹³⁰ and in his place appointed as *domestikos*

123 On the alternative statements asserting Theophano's lowly origins found in Leo the Deacon and Skylitzes see Cheynet 2010, 232 n. 32 where he argues for the greater plausibility of the version given here.

124 On this hall constructed by Justinian II see *ODB* 3:2116.

125 Helena Lekapene.

126 Petrin or Petrion was the district on the Golden Horn from Phanar to the Unkapan gate. See Janin 1969, 556 and McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2005, 66–67.

127 On *σέχρητον*, “a bureau or department,” see *ODB* 3:1866.

128 He had suffered four major losses to Sayf al-Dawla between 950 and 954; see Canard 1951, 777–783, McCormick 1990, 159, and Cheynet 1986, 298.

129 He was born in 879 and thus about seventy-six years of age (see Cheynet 1986, 297). Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.5 (Hase 1828, 83) says that when he died in 969 he was more than ninety.

130 Presumably in 955, see Canard 1951, 763.

γόν τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, τὸν φίλτατον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἄνδρα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφοροῖς πολέμοις εὐδοκιμήσαντα καὶ ἄριστον ἀναφανέντα· καὶ τῇ ἡδυτάτῃ διαλαλιᾷ καὶ θωπεῖα αὐτοῦ κοσμήσας τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους Ἀγαρηνοὺς ἐχώρει, ὡς πάντα τὰ στρατεύματα θαρρεῖν καὶ ὡς ἐν ἰδίῳ χώρῳ παροικίαν ποιήσασθαι· | καὶ μήτε κρυπτομένων ἢ βακχευόντων ἢ ὑποστρεφόντων, ὡς ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς· 460 ἀλλὰ πάντες τομῶς ἐχώρουσαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς ἀσπίσι περιφραξάμενοι καὶ τοῖς δόρασιν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς ἀφανίζοντες. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θάμβος καὶ ἔκπληξιν τοῖς ὀρώσιν τὸν νικητὴν Νικηφόρον τὰς παρατάξεις καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ἀθέου Χαμβαδᾶ συγκόπτοντα καὶ ἀπορραπίζοντα, καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ νικητοῦ ἀριστέως θαμβεῖσθαι καὶ μεγαλύνειν τοῖς ὀρώσιν, ὡς τὰς πόλεις καὶ κώμας καὶ χώρας πυρὶ κατατεφρῶσαι καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἄγειν καὶ ὑποσπόνδους τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων προσφέρειν. Καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὸν πιστὸν Κωνσταντῖνον ἀφικόμενος ἐπαίνων καὶ τιμῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠξιώθη, οἷον ἐν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ ἂν ἐκτήσαντο.

- 42 Ὁ δὲ ἄναξ Κωνσταντῖνος μηδὲν τῶν πατρῶων αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομημάτων συγχωρήσαι πεσεῖν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέγα λουτρόν, τὸ παρὰ Λέοντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παρασκευασθὲν εἰς τὰ Μαρίνης εὐρύχωρόν τε καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείας θαῦμα, τὸ πρότερον παροραθὲν ὡς ἀμελεία καὶ ῥαθυμία πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀμορφίαν καὶ ἀκοσμίαν ἐλάσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸ σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ θεμελίους. Οὗτος ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τοῖς πατρικοῖς ἔργοις ὡς οἰκείους ἐπιγαννύμενος καὶ τερπόμενος ἀνακαινισμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιδίδωσιν, αὐθις ἀποκαθιστῶν, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸν πρότερον κόσμον ἀναφέρων ἀλλὰ | 461

Nikephoros, *patrikios* and *strategos* of the Anatolikon,¹³¹ his [Bardas's] dear-est son, a¹³² man distinguished in many different wars and shown to be the best.¹³³ And with his very sweet manner of speech and flattery he put the military forces in good order and moved against the hostile Hagarenes, so that all the military forces were filled with courage and sojourned in a foreign land as if in their own, | not hiding or stricken with frenzy nor retreating, as was their habit. But all proceeded smartly against the enemy, protected by their shields and defending themselves with their spears and powerfully obliterating the Hagarenes.¹³⁴ It was possible to see something astonishing and amazing for those who observed the victorious Nikephoros thrashing and clubbing the battle lines and forces and divisions¹³⁵ of the godless Chambdan.¹³⁶ And those observers were astonished at and extolled the good fortune of the victorious hero, as with fire he burned to ashes cities and vil-lages and lands and led off captives and rendered them tributary subjects of the empire of the Romans.¹³⁷ Indeed coming to the faithful Constantine, he [Nikephoros] was deemed worthy of praise and honour from him, just as the *strategoï* of the Romans would possess in ancient times.

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- 42 The ruler Constantine did not allow any of his father's buildings to fall down, including this great bath¹³⁸ constructed by Leo his father in the House of Marina,¹³⁹ a capacious structure and a wonder of our state, the one formerly ignored so that by neglect and indifference it came to a condition of total unsightliness and ugliness, with nothing other than its foundations visible.¹⁴⁰ This Constantine exulted and delighted in his father's work as his own and lavishly renewed it, again restoring it, not only raising it to

131 On the theme in Asia Minor, the "first ranked among all the themes," see *ODB* 1: 89–90.

132 The remainder of this passage is translated by Andriollo 2014, 127.

133 He had served as *strategos* of the Anatolikon 945–955, but as Cheynet 1986, 300 notes, usually at the side of his father.

134 On Nikephoros's transformation of the army see Canard 1951, 786.

135 On the use of the term here (φούλακον) in the 10th century with specific reference to this passage see Rance 2004, 312–313.

136 i.e. Sayf al-Dawla, Hamdanid emir of Aleppo.

137 On Nikephoros Phokas's strategy and expeditions 955–960 see Canard 1951, 785–796 and Garrood 2013, 21–22 with earlier bibliography.

138 On the original structure see Magdalino 1988.

139 On the location, "on the northeast confines of the Great Palace," see Magdalino 1988, 99.

140 On its neglect under Romanos I and restoration by Constantine VII, see Magdalino 1988, 114–115.

πλέον κρείττονα δημιουργήσας, πάντοθεν περικαλλύνων και τήν προτέραν απο-
 διδούς τοῖς λουομένοις εὐπάθειαν. Τοῦτο και ξένους εἰς θάμβος εἰσάγει και τοὺς
 ἐνδίκους ἐκπλήττει.

- 43 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος πατρίκιον Θεόδωρον τὸν Βελωνᾶν λεγόμενον ἔπαρ-
 χον και πατέρα πόλεως προχειρίζεται, ἄνδρα ἰκανὸν και λόγιον, πρὸς τοὺς νόμους
 πολυπειρίαν και εὐφυΐαν ἔχοντα· και πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τροφήν ἀνήροτον τοῖς δικα-
 ζόμενοις τῇ εὐκοσμῖα και δικαιολογίᾳ αὐτοῦ παρεῖχε.
- 44 Τὸν δὲ πατρίκιον και παρακοιμώμενον Βασίλειον ὁ πορφυρογέννητος κατὰ τοῦ
 ἀθέου Χαμβαδᾶ μετὰ ἐκστρατείας και δυνάμεως λαοῦ και πολλῆς ἐξοπλίσεως
 ἀποστέλλει. Και δὴ ταῖς ἐκείνου θεοπνεύστοις βουλαῖς καθοπλισθεῖς, τῆς βασιλι-
 κῆς οἰκίας και τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπάρας, πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γίνεται
 χώρας, και πρῶτα μὲν πόλιν πορθεῖ Σαμοσάτων, Σύροις πάλαι κατωκισμένην και
 πρὸς τὴν ὄχθαν τοῦ Εὐφράτου παρακειμένην, δυσπρόρητον οὖσαν και πολυάν-
 θρωπον και πλούτῳ πολλῶ ἐπιβρίθουσαν. Ταύτη τὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐχώρει, και κατ’
 αὐτῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεμονεύοντος· οἵτινες τῇ συντρόφῳ ἀλαζονείᾳ ἐπαιρόμενοι
 ἀμαχί τὰ τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν ἐφρυάττοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατῷ
 συνεδέθησαν, και μηδὲ τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρμὴν φέρον-|τες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέποντο, και
 σώζειν ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ὅπως δύναται ἡγωνίζετο, τότε σκυλεύονται μὲν οἱ νεκροί,
 δεσμούνται δὲ και οἱ ζωγρηθέντες, και λαφύρων πολλὴ γίνεται συναγωγὴ· και
 ἅπαντα τὸ κοινὸν θέατρον και ὁ θρίαμβος τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου ὑπεδέξατο.
- 45 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν πατρίκιον Λέοντα τὸν υἱὸν Βάρδα μάγιστρον τοῦ Φωκᾶ στρατη-
 γὸν εἰς Ἀνατολικοὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικηφόρου προχειρίζεται, ἄνδρα ἄρι-

its former beauty, but | constructing it far larger, beautifying it everywhere and restoring the former enjoyment for the bathers. This [structure] brings amazement and astonishment to strangers and legal residents.¹⁴¹ 461

43 The emperor Constantine appointed the *patrikios* Theodore surnamed Belonas¹⁴² eparch and father of the City, a man competent and learned, with much experience in the law and a man of genius. For the common good he provided to defendants untitled nourishment¹⁴³ by his good order and justice.

44 The Porphyrogennetos dispatched against the godless Chambdan the *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos* Basil¹⁴⁴ with an expedition and force of troops and great armament. And indeed armed with the [emperor's] God-inspired plan, setting out from the imperial house and from Byzantium he came to the lands of the deniers of Christ; he first besieged the city of Samosata,¹⁴⁵ a city long ago settled by Syrians and situated on the bank of the Euphrates, hard to besiege, with many inhabitants and laden with much wealth.¹⁴⁶ The military forces proceeded there and against the leader of those very barbarians who, elated with their natural swagger, boasted of their victory before the battle began. But when the barbarians were locked in conflict with the Roman army and unable to endure their assault, | they turned to flight and each strove to save himself as best he could. Then the corpses were stripped and the captives bound and much booty collected.¹⁴⁷ And the common theatre and the triumph of the Hippodrome received it all.¹⁴⁸ 462

45 The emperor appointed the *patrikios* Leo, the son of Bardas Phokas, *magistros* [and] *strategos* over the Anatolikon in place of his brother Nikephoros;

141 Perhaps “legitimate” [citizens]?

142 See above chap. 27.

143 The phrase τροφήν ... ἀνήροτον occurs in Basil of Caesarea, “On Famine and Drought” (PG 31.320B) in a passage on the Israelites’s forty years in the desert, hence apparently here equals “manna.”

144 Basil Lekapenos.

145 See Canard 1951, 795–796.

146 For Constantine VI’s reference to the expedition in a later speech to the troops with discussion of the campaign, see McGeer 2003, 123.

147 Neither this text nor the related passage in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 10 mentions that Basil’s expedition was sent to reinforce one led by John Tzimiskes; see Canard 1951, 795–796. Samosata was taken in 958.

148 On the triumph see McCormick 1990, 166.

στον και προς τους Ἀγαρηνοὺς και πολεμίους μαχιμώτατον. Και ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς αὐταδέλφους ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀγωνιζομένους και προς τοὺς πολεμίους χωροῦντας και κατασφάττοντας, και τὴν αὐτῶν ὀρμὴν μὴ φέροντας.

46 Γέγονε δὲ και ἐμπρησμὸς μέγας και φοβερός πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Θωμᾶ, ὥστε κατακαῆναι τὸν ἔμβολον τὸν ἀπερχόμενον προς τὴν Σιδηρὰν πόρταν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ τῇ πολλῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητι, και ὡς οἰκεία ἔγγονα τοὺς πολίτας φιλῶν και κηδόμενος, πάντας παρεθυμήσατο εἰς ἀνοικοδομὴν τῶν πυρκαϊθέτων αὐτῶν οἰκημάτων και τὸν ἀνακτα οἱ πολῖται ὡς θεὸν δεύτερον και εὐεργέτην ἐπήνουν και εὐχαρίστουν.

47 Τῶν δὲ Τούρκων ἐκστρατείας ποιησάντων κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, και καταδραμόντων μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα, και ληϊσαμένων πᾶσαν Θρακίαν ψυχὴν και πραιδαν πολλήν, ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθύς τὸν πατρίκιον και δομέστικον τῶν Ἐξκου-|βίτων Πόθον τὸν Ἀργυρὸν μετὰ τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ και τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν βουκελαρίων και τοῦ ὀψικίου και τοῦ Θρακίση, κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν περάσας, ἐξαπέστειλεν· οἱ τῇ εὐπροσδέκτῳ προς θεὸν εὐχῇ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατέσφαξαν και κατεπολέμησαν, λαβόντες τὴν πραιδαν και αἰχμάλωσιαν. Αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἥττης και τροπῆς αἰσχυνθέντες εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν ὑπέστρεψαν.

48 Ἄξιον γάρ ἐστιν ἐξειπεῖν και τὸ φοβερόν ἐκ θεοῦ φανέν σημεῖον και προάγγελμα τῆς μεταθέσεως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου. Φασὶν γάρ εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ ἀνακτος ἀστέρα λαμπρὸν κομήτην φανῆναι ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, νῦν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν νόσον και ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ ἀστέρα κατ' οὐρανὸν δειχθῆναι, θολερὸν δὲ και ἀμαυρὸν φῶς ἔχοντα, και τοῦτον ἐπὶ ἱκανὰς ἡμέρας φαινόμενον, δεικνύοντα

he was an excellent man and most fit for war against the Hagarenes and enemies. And one could see the brothers contesting on behalf of the Christians and moving against the enemies and slaughtering them, not putting up with their assault.¹⁴⁹

- 46 There was a great and fearsome fire near the Church of Saint Thomas,¹⁵⁰ so that it burned the portico leading out to the Iron Gate.¹⁵¹ The sovereign, with his great goodness and, as he loved and cared for the citizens like his own offspring, consoled all in rebuilding their burnt houses; and the citizens applauded the ruler like a second god and benefactor and thanked him.
- 47 When the Turks made expeditions against the Romans and rampaged as far as the City on the feast of the holy Easter, and plundered all the Thracian soul¹⁵² and [took] much booty, the emperor immediately dispatched the *patrikios* and *domestikos* of the *exkoubitoi* | Pothos¹⁵³ Argyros with his regiment and the *strategos* of the Boukellarion¹⁵⁴ and [the *strategos*] of the Opsikion¹⁵⁵ and [the *strategos*] of Thrakesion¹⁵⁶ in pursuit on their tracks. And with the Porphyrogenetos's prayer, one acceptable to God, by night they fell on and attacked and slaughtered them, taking the booty and captives. [The Turks] themselves, shamed by the great defeat and retreat, returned to their own land.
- 48 Now it is appropriate to mention also the fearsome sign revealed by God and the forewarning of the passing of Constantine the Porphyrogenetos. For they say that at the birth of the ruler a bright star, a comet, appeared for forty days, and now again at his illness and departure a star was visible in the heaven, dull and with a dim light, and this appeared for some days,

149 This statement from “and most fit ... assault” does not appear in the related passage in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 11.

150 Pseudo-Symeon records the same fire, mentioning the church of St Thomas, the portico and the Iron Gate. Janin 1969, 248–250 locates it in the southern part of the city near the harbour of Sophia; see also Van Millingen 1899, 262.

151 See Janin 1964, 389 and Van Millingen 1899, 262.

152 The Vat. gr. 163, chap. 13 here has γῆν, “land.”

153 This Magyar raid occurred on April 11, 958. On Pothos Argyros, perhaps the grandson of either Leo or Pothos Argyros (*PmbZ* #26730), see Cheynet and Vannier 2003, 64. On the raid see Antonopoulos 1993, 260–262 and compare the similar report in Pseudo-Symeon [755:23–756:7].

154 *PmbZ* Anon. #31414.

155 *PmbZ* Anon. #31415.

156 *PmbZ* Anon. #31416.

τῆ κρείττονι δυνάμει δεδημιουργημένον τὸν πορφυρογέννητον Κωνσταντῖνον. Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι πολλοὶ τῶν εὐγνωμόνων καὶ τὸ θαῦμα τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσι παραπεμψαμένων, ἵνα καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὸ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου συμπενήθη τέλος. Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν βασιλικῶν πρακτέων διαφεύγει τὸν νοῦν, ἐν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τελευταῖον τοῖς εἰρημένοις προσθεῖς τὸ τοῦ λόγου πέρας ἀφίζομαι.

- 49 Ἐτρέφετο πόθος καὶ ἔφεςις τῷ ἄνακτι τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Ὀλύμπου καταλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἁγίους πατέρας ἐπόψεσθαι καὶ τῶν τιμίων αὐτῶν ἐπαπολαῦσαι εὐχῶν καὶ | 464
τῆ μεταβάσει τῶν τόπων καὶ τῆ τῶν ἀέρων εὐκрасία τὸ ὑγιές αὐτῷ περιποιήσασθαι· ὑπεσμύχετο γὰρ αὐτῷ νόσος κρυφία, δι' ἣν καὶ ἱατρικαῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἔκδοτος ἐδείκνυτο, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἐξελεύσεως ἐδεῖτο τὸ μάλιστα. Τούτῳ τῷ πόθῳ κάτοχος γεγονῶς αὐτίκα τοῦ δρομωνίου ἐπέβαινε καὶ πρὸς χώρας τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἐπεφοῖτα καὶ πρὸς Πρίετον, ἣτις Πραίνετος παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐπωνόμασται, ἔκ τινος πατρίου θεοῦ Βιθυνῶν τὴν κλήσιν ἐπιτεθείσα. Ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς Νικαίαν ἐφίσταται, πόλιν ἀρχαίοπλουτον καὶ πολύανδρον. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εἰς φροντιστήριον μοναχῶν πρὸς τὰς ἐπορείας κείμενον ἀφίκετο τοῦ ἐκεῖσε δοξαζομένου μάρτυρος Ἀθηνογένους· καὶ διὰ κιναβάρεως τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γράμματα ὁ ἐκεῖσε κατηγουμενέων ὑπέδειξε τῷ ἄνακτι. Φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι Λέων ὁ εὐσεβῆς βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖσε διερχόμενος, τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος πρὸς τὰς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἀκρωρείας αἰτήσεως χάριν τοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτῷ υἱὸν διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ τηνικαῦτα ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς Πέτρος προέφησεν αὐτῷ υἱὸν γεννῆσαι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸς μέλλει ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπον εἰς τὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ. Τὴν δὲ γραφὴν ὁ πορφυρογέννητος ἰδίαν εἶναι Λέοντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γνωρίσας ἀληθινὴν ἔφησεν εἶναι τὴν πρόρρησιν τοῦ μοναχοῦ. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης πρὸς τὰς ἐπορείας τοῦ Ὀλύμπου γίνεται, Ὀλύμπου ἐκεῖνου οὐ καὶ Μυσίων πρόπαλαι γραφῆ παραδέ-

showing that the Porphyrogenetos Constantine was created by the superior power.¹⁵⁷ Many people of good judgment understood this, also conveying the wonder to those who did not understand, in order that even the elements might join in mourning the death of the Porphyrogenetos. But even if the majority of imperial actions escape the mind, adding this one as the finale to what has been said, I will come to the end of the narrative.

- (49) A passion and desire grew in the ruler to go to mount Olympos and look upon the holy fathers on it, and to benefit from their honoured prayers, and | by change of place and the mildness of the airs to obtain good health for himself. For a mysterious disease was slowly consuming him, on account of which he was obliged to have recourse to medical attention and especially felt the need to go to Olympos. Possessed by this passion he immediately embarked on the imperial *dromon* and travelled to the lands of Bithynians and to Prietos that is called Prainetos¹⁵⁸ by the local inhabitants, taking the name from some ancestral god of the Bithynians. Thence he continued to Nicaea, a city of ancient wealth and populous. From there he went to the monastery of monks lying in the foothills, that of the martyr Athenogenes¹⁵⁹ who is commemorated there. The *hegemon*¹⁶⁰ there showed the ruler letters of his father [written] in cinnabar.¹⁶¹ For they say that Leo the pious emperor went there, making the journey to the peaks of Olympos to ask that a son be granted to him as successor of his empire, and the *hegemon* of the monastery at that time, Peter, predicted to him that he would father a son as successor of his empire; and that he [the son] was going to go to Olympos toward the end of his life. The Porphyrogenetos, realizing that the writing was genuinely that of his father Leo, said the prophecy of the monk was true. From this [monastery] he goes to the foothills of Olympos, that Olympos which a text

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157 Pseudo-Symeon [756:8–10] mentions both stars as does Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.1 (Hase 1828, 5). Skylitzes, *Synopsis* (Leo VI, chap. 26, Thurn 1973, 185) mentions only the star at Constantine's birth, adding "its tail toward the east." On the occurrence of "soft" astrology in Theophanes Continuatus's accounts of the Macedonian emperors with specific reference to this passage, see Magdalino 2006, 127–128.

158 On Prainetos see Ramsey 1890, repr. 1962, 188, "on the south side of the gulf of Astakos and east of Helenopolis." He plausibly suggests that Πρίετον should be corrected to Πρί-
 νετον in this passage. Failler 1990, 24 describes it as "the normal point of call for the voyager who is traveling from Constantinople to Nicaea." See also Diller 1950, 252.

159 Bishop of Sebaste, died ca. 305. On the monastery see Janin 1975, 134.

160 *PmbZ* Anon. #31411.

161 The colour reserved for imperial documents.

δωκεν, Μυσῶν τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τούτῳ | οἰκούντων. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὰς παραλογὰς 465
καὶ δυσκολίας καὶ ἐλικοειδεῖς καὶ κρημνώδεις ἀναβάσεις μόλις διελθὼν ὁ ἄναξ,
ταῖς κέλλαις τῶν ἱερῶν πατέρων καταλαβὼν, οὕς ἰδὼν κατασπασάμενος καὶ τὰς
τούτων ψυχωφελεῖς εὐχὰς ἐφόδιον λαβὼν πρὸς τὴν Προῦσαν μετανίσταται, πόλιν
ἄνδρὸς τὸ πάλαϊ Βιθυνῶν βασιλεύσαντος, ὃς ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ πολέμων τῶν τηνι-
κάδε βασιλέων ὑπεραρθέντων σύμβολον μνήμης τὴν τοιάνδε πόλιν ἐξειργάσατο.
Ἦς οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν καὶ ὑποβρύχιος γέγονε, θερμῶν ἀναδόσεις βλέπων, ἐν οἷς
μῦθοι φασιν Ἡρακλῆν κατὰ ζήτησιν ὕλην περιπλανώμενον τὸν ἐξ ὕλου φόνον τῷ
λύθρῳ ἐναποσμῆξασθαι.

50 Ὁ δὲ ἄναξ παρὰ τῶν ἱερῶν πατέρων διδαχθεὶς ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἀσκη-
τὴν εἶναι σημειοφόρον γέροντα ἐν σπηλαίῳ, πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο. Καὶ δὴ
θεῖα ἐκλάμψει ὁ γέρον ἐμφανισθεὶς ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένου, τῆς
κέλλης αὐτοῦ ἀπιῶν, μετάνοιαν δὲ βαλὼν, τὸ εὐλόγησον ἔφησεν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
ἐρωτήσας “τίς τε ὦν καὶ πόθεν καὶ πῶς καὶ ποῦ παραγίνῃ;” ἔφησεν “τὴν πρόο-
δον τῆς βασιλείας σοῦ πρὸς με γνοῦς μᾶλλον πρὸς σέ παραγίνομαι”. Ὁ δὲ θεῖαν
ἀποστολὴν τὸν γέροντα ὑπονοήσας, τὰς τούτου εὐχὰς ἐφόδιον λαβὼν καὶ τὴν τῆς
ζωῆς αὐτοῦ μετάστασιν μαθὼν, πρὸς τὰς κέλλας τῶν ἱερῶν πατέρων ὑπενόστησεν
καὶ συνεστιαθεὶς αὐτοῖς τὸ τάχος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήλθεν. Καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς 466
κοιλιακοῦ νοσήματος καὶ τοῦ πυρετοῦ.

51 Ἄλλ’ ὦ θνητῆς φύσεως νόμοι καὶ τύχης μεταβολαί, πρὸς οἷους συνεπείγομαι καὶ
ἐλαύνομαι θρήνους! Ἐξ οὗ μεταβάς καὶ κατευθὺ τείνας τὸν πλοῦν πρὸς τὴν βασι-

very long ago handed down as Mysian,¹⁶² since Mysians in ancient times | 465
 lived on it. From these the ruler barely made his way over incalculable and
 difficult [terrain] and winding and ravine-like slopes, reaching the cells of
 the holy fathers; when he saw them he embraced them, receiving their spir-
 itually beneficial prayers as a viaticum and went on to Prousa,¹⁶³ a city of
 a man who was king of the Bithynians long ago, a man¹⁶⁴ who founded this
 great city as a symbolic memorial of his courage and wars against the exalted
 kings of that time. Not far from there he [Constantine] also took the waters,
 seeing exhalations of hot springs, in which the myths say Herakles,¹⁶⁵ after
 he wandered in search of Hylas,¹⁶⁶ wiped away the death and pollution¹⁶⁷
 from Hylas.¹⁶⁸

(50) The ruler learned from the holy fathers that on the peak of Olympos was
 an ascetic, a miracle-working elder¹⁶⁹ in a cave, and he was compelled with
 a desire [to see] him. Indeed as the emperor was coming toward him the
 elder appeared amid a divine light, exiting his cell and making obeisance,
 and he pronounced the blessing. And the emperor asked, “Who are you and
 from where and how and why do you come [to me]?” He said, “Knowing of
 the coming of your majesty to me, rather I came to you.” Suspecting that
 the elder was a divine apostle, and receiving his prayers as a viaticum and
 learning of his departure from life, he returned back to the cells of the holy
 fathers and after a meal with them he went quickly down to the sea, and how
 ill he was escaped the notice of most people. He was | consumed within and 466
 wasted away by the intestinal disease and the fever.

51 But alas for the laws of mortal nature and the changes of fortune, to what
 lamentations am I being urged and driven. From the time he crossed over
 and, directing the ship straight to the imperial City, arrived there, he was

162 The phrasing here is problematic; I accept Bekker's conjecture *ὄν καὶ Μύσιον πρόπαλαι γραφή*. The text in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 14 is clearer: *ὄν καὶ Μυσίων ὄρος ἢ γραφή ἐξ ἀρχαίου παρῑδωκεν*. Perhaps this is a reference to Strabo 12.8.

163 On Prousa and its hot springs see *ODB* 3:1750.

164 Prusias I Cholos (ca. 230–182 BC).

165 On Herakles as a patron deity of hot springs see Croon 1967.

166 Reading with the manuscript *ῥλου*.

167 Perhaps one should conjecture *λούτρῳ* “with a bath” for the manuscript's *λύθρω*.

168 Cf. Apollonius, *Argon.* 1.1172–1272 and Strabo 12.4. The text may be corrupt here. In the myth Herakles had murdered Hylas's father and Hylas died when pulled into the water by nymphs. See Diller 1950, 252 who comments “No other author makes Heracles murder Hylas, if that is what these words mean.”

169 *PmbZ* Anon. #31412.

λίδα πόλιν κατέλαβεν, τῇ συνεχούσῃ νόσῳ κατατρυχόμενος καὶ βαλλόμενος. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤττατο ὁ φοβερός βασιλεὺς παρὰ τῆς νόσου καὶ αἱ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐλπίδες προεχώρουν, οὐκ ἦν ὅστις τὸν πορφυρογέννητον μὴ ἀπωλοφύρετο καὶ ἀπωδύρετο τὸν καλὸν ἀνακτα, τὸν γλυκύν, τὸν εὐπροσηνῆ, τὸν εὐπρόσιτον, τὸν γαληνόν, καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις χρή ὀνόμασι καλέσαι τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς οὓς τῷ πόθῳ συνδέεται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τελευταῖα πνέων ὠράτο ὁ πορφυρογέννητος Κωνσταντῖνος, Ῥωμανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορα βασιλέα ἐποίησεν, παραδοὺς καὶ ὀρκώσας Ἰωσήφ πατρικίον καὶ πραιπόσιτον τοῦ διαφυλάξαι αὐτὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐντρεχείᾳ καὶ πυκνώσει· καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ, πυκνὸς καὶ ὀρθὸς καὶ πιστὸς καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικήματα ἀετοῦ ταχύτερος, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπροσωπόληπτον καὶ εὐσεβῆς καὶ δίκαιος, ὡς τοιοῦτον ἕτερον μὴ γνωρίζεσθαι.

- 52 Αὐγόυστα Ἐλένη σὺν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ παρακοιμωμένῳ Βασιλείῳ καὶ τοῖς κοιτωνίταις, ὡς ἑώρων τὸν ἀνακτα Κωνσταντῖνον ψυχοραγούντα καὶ συγκοπτόμενον, περιχυθέντες τῇ κλίνῃ κλαυθμοῖς καὶ ὄδυρμοῖς ἀμέτροις | περιρραίνοντες ἀπωλοφύροντο καὶ ἀπωδύροντο τοιοῦτον δεσπότην, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ὠφέλησαν ἢ κωφοῖς καὶ κενοῖς δάκρυσι καταπλύνοντες τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐκεῖνο σῶμα. Καὶ δὴ τὴν κλίνην αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέρων περικυκλούντων καὶ ταῖς πολλαῖς οἰμωγαῖς κοπτομένων, καὶ πρὸς τὰ τέλη πάντη ὡς ὁ γλυκὺς καὶ πλουτοδότης βασιλεὺς, χοροστασίαι ἀγίων καὶ δικαίων μοναχῶν τε καὶ μαρτύρων καὶ ἱεραρχῶν παρίσταντο, καὶ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα χερσὶν ἀγγελικαῖς παρέθεντο. Καὶ τάχιον τοῦτον ἀποσμήξαντες προέθηκαν ἐν τοῖς δεκαεννέα ἀκουβίτοις. Καὶ ψαλμοῖς τοῦτον τελέσαντες παρευθὺ ἐξήγαγον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Χαλκὴν ἀποθέντες, τελευταῖον ἀσπασμὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρικίιοι καὶ ἡ πᾶσα σύγκλητος κατησπάζοντο· καὶ ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως, ὡς ἔθος ἦν, ἀνακράξας “ἔξελθε, βασιλεῦ· καλεῖ σε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλεύοντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριεύοντων”, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ ὄχλου βοὴν καὶ κωκυτὸν καὶ ὄδυρμόν βαλλόντων, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου τοῦτο φωνήσαντος, παρευθὺ ἄραντες τὸν ἀνακτα ἐξήγαγον ἀπὸ

worn out and stricken with the disease afflicting him. For when the fearful emperor was overcome by the disease and hopes for his life departed, there was no one who did not loudly bewail and bitterly lament the Porphyrogenetos, the good ruler, the sweet, the gentle, the accessible, the mild, and by whatever other names the man must be called, by those to whom he is linked by affection. When the Porphyrogenetos Constantine was seen breathing his last, he made his son Romanos sovereign emperor, entrusting him to, and putting under oath Joseph, the *patrikios* and *praispositos*, to guard him with his skill and sagacity.¹⁷⁰ For such was the man, sagacious and upright, and faithful and quicker than an eagle in public administration. He was pious and just without respect for persons,¹⁷¹ such that no one else was so well regarded.

- 52 The *augousta* Helena with her children and the *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos* Basil and the *koitonitai*, when they saw the ruler Constantine breathing his last breath and losing strength, crowded around his bed with tears and immeasurable lamentation, | weeping and wailing and lamenting the noble master, and they accomplished nothing more than drenching that imperial body with senseless and vain tears. Indeed they were both going around his bed and were beset with great lamentation, and to the end the emperor was totally sweet and generous, and choruses of saintly and just monks and martyrs and hierarchs stood nearby, and placed his all-holy spirit in the hands of angels. Quite quickly they washed him and placed him in the Hall of the Nineteen Couches. And performing the rites for him with psalms they forthwith brought him out, placing him in state at the Chalke Gate;¹⁷² the patriarch and the priests and the *magistroi* and the *patrikioi* and all the senate gave a final embrace. The master of ceremonies,¹⁷³ as is the custom, cried out, “Depart, emperor; the Emperor of emperors and the Lord of lords summons you,” and the multitude of the populace cried and wailed and lamented, and after the [master of ceremonies] said this three times, forthwith raising up the ruler they conveyed him from the imperial build-

170 On the choice of Bringas rather than the *parakoimomenos* Basil Lekapenos see Featherstone 2014, 355.

171 i.e. without partiality, cf. 1 Pet. 1.17.

172 The “main entrance vestibule of the Great Palace,” see *ODB* 1:405–406.

173 *PmbZ* Anon. #31418.

τῶν βασιλικῶν δόμων ἐπὶ τὴν λεωφόρον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἔφερον, τῆς συγγλήτου πάσης προπεμπούσης, καὶ ἄσμασι προπομπίους τὴν ἔξοδον μεγαλύνοντες.

53 Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν εἰς τὸν συνελθόντα λαὸν καὶ ὄχλον τῆς πολιτείας, τῶν μὲν ἀφ' ὕψους τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐκεῖνο σκῆνος κατοπτευόντων, τῶν δὲ πλησίον παραθεωρούντων, καὶ ἄλλων μὲν ἐξ οἰκοδομῶν καὶ | οἰκημάτων μετεώρων καὶ ὑψηλῶν προκυπτόντων καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεάν τῆς κλίνης ἐπιρριπτόντων, τῶν δὲ κρυφίως μυρομένων καὶ στεναγμοῖς ἐγκαρδίους κλονουμένων, καὶ ἄλλων ὄδυρμοῖς καταξαινομένων, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ὀξύτερον ἐπικωκούντων, καὶ συνθλιβόμενοι καὶ ἀπολοφυρόμενοι τῷ κοινῷ δυστυχήματι, τινῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ δάκρυα κρουνηδὸν προχεόντων καὶ τὴν χρυσοκόλλητον κλίνην καταρδεούντων καὶ καταρραϊνόντων. Ὡς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων προσήγγισαν καὶ ἔσω τὸ βασιλικὸν δορυφορούμενον ἐφαίνετο σῶμα, ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ παρακοιμώμενος Βασίλειος τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα ταῖς οἰκείαις, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς νεκροῖς ποιεῖν, λαζαρώσας, καὶ τοῦ τάφου ἦτοι τοῦ λάρνακος εὐτρεπισθέντος καὶ σηκωθέντος, κατέθετο μετὰ Λέοντος βασιλέως τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Τὴν δὲ πατρικὴν ἐνότητα καὶ ἀγάπην οὐδὲ μετὰ θάνατον καὶ ταφήν ὁ φίλτατος υἱὸς ἀπέστρεψε.

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54 Ἦν τῆ ἰδέᾳ ὁ πορφυρογέννητος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐμήκης τῆ ἡλικίας, λευκὸς τῆ χροιά ὡσεὶ γάλα, εὐόφθαλμος, χαροποιὸς ἔχων ὀφθαλμούς, γρυπὸς ἦτοι ἐπίριν, μακροπρόσωπος, ῥοδινός, μακροτράχηλος, τῆ ἡλικίας ὄρθιος ὡσεὶ κυπάρισσος, εὐρὺς τοῖς ὤμοις, καλότροπος, προσηγῆς τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δειλός, φιλοτράπεζος καὶ φίλοιος, ἠδὺς τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τοῖς δῶροις καὶ ταῖς ἀντιλήψεσι

ings to the boulevard,¹⁷⁴ and were carrying him to the Church of the Holy Apostles, with the entire senate escorting, glorifying his departure with processional hymns.¹⁷⁵

- 53 Why is it necessary to speak regarding the people and multitude of the citizenry who gathered, with some viewing that imperial vessel from above, some watching nearby from the side, and others | peering from buildings and raised and lofty houses, rushing to catch sight of the bier, some secretly weeping and agitated with heartfelt groaning, others rent with lamentation, some others quite bitterly grieving, and they were overwhelmed and mourning the common misfortune, and some even poured forth tears like a spring and drenched and besprinkled the gold-inlaid bier. When they neared the Church of the Holy Apostles and the imperial body was visible under guard within, the *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos* Basil shrouded¹⁷⁶ his [Constantine's] all-holy body with his own [hands], as is customary to do for the dead, and with the tomb or sarcophagus prepared and raised, he was interred with the Emperor Leo his father. After death and the grave, the dearest son did not turn his back on unity with and love for his father.¹⁷⁷
- 54¹⁷⁸ Personally the Porphyrogennetos Constantine the Emperor was tall in stature, his complexion white like milk, his eyes beautiful and bright,¹⁷⁹ his nose aquiline or long, he had a long face, was rosy-cheeked, long-necked, he stood upright like a cypress tree, was broad-shouldered, affable, kindly to all and as it were quite shy, fond of the table and fond of wine, charming in his

174 The Mese, see *ODB* 2:1346–1347.

175 For the generic script of the funeral of an emperor, much of it exemplified in the specific instance described here, see Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cer.* 1.60 (Reiske 1829, 275–277). On imperial funerals see Rapp 2012, specifically 275–278 for her analysis of this passage.

176 The verb is λαζαρόω, a reminder of the rising of Lazarus.

177 Grierson 1962, 58 notes that Constantine was not buried in the tomb he had prepared for himself, “his graceless son having apparently appropriated” it. Perhaps the author is commenting on contrasting father-son relationships here.

178 The passage is translated by Toynbee 1973, 24.

179 For χαροποιούς here Toynbee 1973 renders with “their expression was genial,” Dvornik et al. 1962, repr. 2012, 9 with “blue,” suggesting as an alternative in n. 27 with reference to Genesis 49:12 “wine-induced brightness, and may in Theophanes Continuatus covertly refer to the emperor’s φιλοινία.”

πλούσιος. Οὗτος ἀπὸ γῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ μέχρι θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἔζησεν χρόνους πενήκοντα πέντε μῆνας δύο ἡμέρας ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ μηνὶ Νοεμ- 469
 καιδεκάτῃ ἰνδικτιῶνος τρίτης, ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ τετρα-
 κοσιοστῷ ἑξηκοστῷ ἑνάτῳ, καταλείψας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Ῥωμανὸν καὶ Ἑλένην
 Αὐγούσταν τὴν μητέρα Ῥωμανοῦ.



FIGURE 1 Gold solidus of Constantine VII, 945 CE
 © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION,
 WASHINGTON, DC

speech,¹⁸⁰ generous with gifts and assistance. From his birth to his death he lived fifty-five years, two months, ... days.¹⁸¹ He died on | the fifteenth 469
of November,¹⁸² the third indiction, from the creation of the world the year 6469,¹⁸³ leaving as sovereign Romanos and as *augousta* Helena, Romanos's mother.

180 Cf. the similar description of his son Romanos II below at TheophCont [472:21–473:3] and of both of them in Pseudo-Symeon [756:21–757:3]. Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* provides similar descriptions of Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and Sviatoslav. Generally on these *somatopsychogrammata* see Ljubarskij 1992, 178–180.

181 The number of days is lacking in the manuscript. Skylitzes, *Synopsis* (Constantine VII, chap. 17, Thurn 1973, 247) gives fifty-four years, two months, which is correct; see Cheynet 2010, 238 n. 54.

182 An error for nine or nineteen; see Treadgold 2013, 216 n. 71. Pseudo-Symeon [756:17] also gives the fifteenth, while Skylitzes, *Synopsis* (Constantine VII, chap. 17, Thurn 1973, 247) gives the ninth. On the uncertainty see Grierson 1962, 58.

183 Incorrect for 6468; see Treadgold 2013, 216 n. 71.

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΥ**

Ῥωμανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατελείφθη αὐτοκράτωρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Κωνσταντίνου ἑτῶν ὡς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑνός, τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Βασιλείου ἐνιαυσιαίου ὄντος, ἅμα καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἑλένη καὶ Θεοφανῶ τῇ συνεύνω αὐτοῦ, μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ἕκτη ἰνδικτιῶνος ἕκτης, ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ ἑξηκοστῷ ἐνάτῳ· καὶ παρευθὺς τοὺς κοιτωνίτας καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πατρικάτα καὶ πρωτοσπαθαράτα τιμήσας καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἀξιώμασιν ὑπερβιβάσας καὶ δώροις καταπλουτίσας τῶν βασιλικῶν δόμων τοῦ παλατίου κατήγαγεν. Ἐξελέξατο δὲ καὶ προέκρινεν παραδυναστεύοντας καὶ πρῶτους τοὺς τῆς συγκλήτου Ἰωσήφ πατρίκιον πραιπόσιτον καὶ δρουγγάριον τῶν πλωτῶν, ὄντινα καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ παρακοιμώμενον προανεβίβασεν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ φροντίδα τοῦ ὑπηκόου | ἀνατέθεικεν. Τὸν δὲ πρωτοσπαθάριον Ἰωάννην λεγόμενον τὸν Χοιρινᾶν πατρίκιον καὶ μέγαν ἐταιρειάρχην προεβάλετο τοῦ φυλάττειν τὸν ἀνακτα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποπευομένων προσώπων. Καὶ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Σισίνιον τὸν ἀπὸ σακελλίου ἔπαρχον πόλεως ἐχειροτόνησεν, ἄνδρα λόγιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιτήδειον, ὄντινα καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ πατρίκιον καὶ γενικὸν λογοθέτην προεβάλετο, καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔπαρχον πόλεως τὸν πατρίκιον Θεόδωρον τὸν ἀπὸ στρατιωτικῶν τὸν λεγόμενον Δαφνοπάτην ἐποίησεν· ὅστις Σισίνιος τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ διέπρεψεν εὐνομίᾳ

Reign of Romanos (II), son of Constantine the PorphYROgenetos

[1] Romanos (II) the emperor was left as sovereign by his father the Porphyrogenetos Constantine (VII) at the age of twenty-one years,¹⁸⁴ the Porphyrogenetos Basil (II)¹⁸⁵ being one year old, and also with his mother Helena and Theophano his wife, on the sixth of the month of November,¹⁸⁶ the third¹⁸⁷ indiction, from the creation of the world the year 64**.¹⁸⁸ He forthwith honoured the *koitonitai* and his father's men¹⁸⁹ with the ranks of *patrikios* and of *protospatharios* and elevated them with other dignities and greatly enriched them with gifts, [then] removed them from the imperial buildings of the Palace. He singled out and preferred as *paradynasteuontes* and the leading men of the senate: Joseph, *patrikios*, *praipositos*, and *droungarios* of the fleet, whom after a short time he also raised to *parakoimomenos*, and entrusted to him all authority and concern for his subjects. | The *protospatharios* John surnamed Choirinas¹⁹⁰ he designated as *patrikios* and grand *hetaireiarches* to guard the ruler from suspected persons.¹⁹¹ He appointed the *protospatharios* Sisinius, the *sakellarios*, as eparch of the City, a learned man suited to the common need, whom also after a short time he designated as *patrikios* and logothete of the *genikon*, and in his place he made eparch of the City the *patrikios* Theodore from the military ranks¹⁹² surnamed Daphnopates. This Sisinius distinguished the prefecture with adherence to

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184 There are a number of problems in the Bonn edition's text of the remainder of the sentence. See the transcription from the manuscript and discussion by Featherstone 2003, 250–251. Featherstone's transcription is followed in the notes below.

185 While the Bonn edition here prints Βασιλείου, the manuscript reading is Κωνσταντίνου, presumably a scribal mistake for Βασιλείου. Cf. the related passage in Pseudo-Symeon [757:5], σὺν Βασιλείῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυσιαίῳ ὄντι.

186 An error for nine or nineteen; see Treadgold 2013, 216 n. 71.

187 The manuscript reads Γ' (= 3), while the Bonn edition gives ἕκτης (= 6).

188 Although printed in the Bonn edition, the last two numerals are lacking in the manuscript, but presumably in full 6469, given the same year date found in the previous paragraph. If so, it is incorrect for 6468; on the latter see Treadgold 2013, 216 n. 71.

189 On the category ἀνθρωποι see Moffatt and Tall 2012, 829 at “emperor's men” and *ODB* 1:111.

190 He is called John Choinos in Pseudo-Symeon [757:12].

191 The *PmbZ* authors (#23090) plausibly suggest that the addition of this motivation to an otherwise standard appointment is an “Indiz für die (berechtigte?) Furcht des Romanos von Anschlägen.”

192 Apparently he had been *logothetes tou stratiotikou* with fiscal responsibilities. On the office see *ODB* 2:1248.

καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πραιτώριον κατηγλάϊσεν. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρισταμένων τῷ ἐκείνου βήματι, καὶ ἀποκρούων καὶ ἀπορραπίζων τὰς παλινδικίας καὶ παλιμβολίας τῶν δικαζομένων· καὶ δικαστῆς δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος τῆς δίκης τῷ ἡδίκηκῳ ἐγένετο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπόνους τῷ ἐπάρχῳ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δέδωκε, τῇ ἐκλογῇ καὶ μαρτυρίᾳ Ἰωσήφ πατρικίου καὶ παρακοιμωμένου καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου Σισινίου, Θεοφύλακτον ἀσηκρήτιν τὸν λεγόμενον Ματζίτζικον καὶ Ἰωσήφ σπαθαροκανδιδάτον καὶ κριτὴν, ὄντινα λογοθέτην τοῦ πραιτωρίου ἐποίησεν· οἵτινες τῇ εὐβουλίᾳ τοῦ ἐπάρχου καλῶς τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐνήργουν.

- 2 Χρῆ οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδων τοῦ ἀνακτος ἐξειπεῖν. Εὐθύς πρὸς πάντα ἀρχηγὸν Ῥωμαίων καὶ βασιλικὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τῆς Βουλγαρίας καὶ τῆς δύσεως καὶ ἑώας ἔθνῶν ἀποστελλομένων φιλικῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ, πάντες τῇ τύχῃ καὶ | 471
φιλίᾳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κράτιστον ἀνύμνουν καὶ φιλικὰς σπονδὰς ὠμολόγουν. Δεῖ οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξειπεῖν. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς οὕτως ἐφίλησε τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην ὡς τὴν γεννησαμένην, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γένῃ περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποίησατο. Διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ τὰ εὐγενῆ καὶ καθαρὰ τῶν γενῶν ποιεῖται δι' ἐκλογῆς, καὶ οὐς μὲν ἀξιωματῶν καταλαμπρύνει τιμαῖς, οὐς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπέσι φιλοτιμεῖται δωρεαῖς. Ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ συνεστίους ποιούμενος, ἀργύρια παρέχων, τὸ φίλτρον μᾶλλον ἐνήυξε καὶ ὑπανέφλεγεν, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων εὐνοίαν ἀντὶ πολλῶν φρουρῶν καὶ φυλάκων προέκρινεν.
- 3 Τὰς δὲ ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ Ζωὴν καὶ Θεοδώραν καὶ Ἀγάθην καὶ Θεοφανῶν καὶ Ἄνναν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν δόμων εἰς τὰ Κανικλείου, ἐν οἷς Σοφία ἢ Αὐγοῦστα ἢ τοῦ Χριστοφόρου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀποκεκαρμένη μοναχῇ, κατήγαγεν καὶ μοναχὰς ἀπέκειρεν, πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἑλένης τῆς μητρὸς Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπολοφυρομένων καὶ ἀποκλαιουσῶν, καὶ τῇ χειρὶ παρ' ἀλλήλων σφιγγουσῶν καὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ ἐπικειμένων, πλεον οὐδὲν ὠφέλησαν ἢ κωφοῖς καὶ κενοῖς δάκρυσι, πάλιν δὲ αὐτὰς

the law and justice and glorified the holy *Praitorion*.¹⁹³ And one could see him, as people stood at his tribunal, rebutting and striking down the new trials and altered motions of the defendants, and each party to the trial became of their own accord the judge of the wrongdoer.¹⁹⁴ Moreover the sovereign also gave *symponoi*¹⁹⁵ to the eparch on the selection and recommendation of Joseph, *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos*, and of the eparch Sisinius, Theophylaktos surnamed Matzitzikos as *asekretis* and Joseph *spatharokandidatos* and judge, whom he made logothete of the *Praitorion*.¹⁹⁶ They functioned well for the state with the good counsel of the eparch.

- 2 It is necessary therefore also to speak about the state concerns of the ruler. Immediately on the sending of his letters of friendship to every leader of the Romans and imperial *strategos* and [leaders] of Bulgaria and of peoples of the West and the East, all | celebrated very greatly the sovereign's own good fortune and friendship and agreed to treaties of friendship. It is necessary also to speak concerning the citizens. The emperor Romanos loved his homeland as though his mother and highly valued the families in it. He therefore indeed also established a chosen group of noble and pure families, and some he made illustrious with the honour of dignities, others he presented with magnificent gifts. Sometimes also making them his dinner guests, [and] providing them silver, he further increased and ignited his affection and he preferred their goodwill to many watchmen and guards.¹⁹⁷
- 3 He removed from the imperial houses his sisters Zoe and Theodora and Agatha and Theophano and Anna to the Kanikleiou,¹⁹⁸ where the *augousta* Sophia, the [wife] of the emperor Christopher, was a tonsured nun, and he had them tonsured as nuns, although Helena, Romanos's mother, and they [his sisters] wailed and cried loudly, clasping one another with their hands and clinging to [her] neck. They gained nothing more than senseless and

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193 A prison and court in Constantinople, see *ODB* 2:1248.

194 See the related passage above [448:8 ff.] where a similar result is attributed to Constantine VII as a judge and with clearer exposition of his methods. On this problematic attribution of the same result to the prefect Sisinius see Laiou 1994, 172.

195 On these officials see *ODB* 3:1989 ("coadjutors") and Koder 2013, 89–90.

196 See *ODB* 2:1248, "the *logothetes* presumably assisted the eparch on police and judicial matters."

197 Much in this passage is a verbatim repetition of what is said of Constantine VII above at [456:12–20], but as Ševčenko 1992, 169 n. 6 notes, it is a "clumsy copy" which may suggest that a different author wrote the section on Romanos II.

198 See Janin 1969, 277.

μετὰ διίππευσιν ἡμερῶν ἀπ' ἐκεῖσε ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μετέθηκεν, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ζωὴν καὶ Θεοδώραν καὶ Θεοφανῶν εἰς τὰ Ἀντιόχου ἐκλήρωσεν, τὴν Ἀγάθην εἰς τὸ Ἰδρυθὲν καὶ κατασκηνωθὲν φροντιστήριον παρὰ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα βασιλεύσαντος καὶ πάππου τοῦ αὐτοκρά- | τορος ἀπέστειλεν· καὶ διωρίσατο χορηγεῖσθαι αὐτάς ἃ 472 καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐδίδοντο.

4 Τὸν δὲ Νικηφόρον καὶ δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν τὸν τοῦ Φωκά μαγιστρον ἐτίμησεν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐψᾶ ἐξέπεμψεν· καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πατρίκιον τὸν Λέοντα στρατηγὸν προεβάλετο, ὄντινα καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μαγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον τῆς δύσεως ἐποίησεν. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν ἀνακτα εὐφραϊνόμενον, καὶ ἐν κυνηγίοις καὶ θήραις δι' ὅλου ἀγροδαιτουῦντα, ὡς τὸν βασιλικὸν δόμον πάντη ἀποστρεφόμενον καὶ τὴν φροντίδα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῖς αὐταδέλφοις καταπιστεύσαντα, αὐτὸς ἔχαιρεν καὶ ἡγαλλιᾶτο τοῖς κυνηγίοις ἔξω τοῦ Βυζαντίου, μετὰ τῶν ὀμηλικῶν καὶ κολάκων καὶ κακοσυμβούλων μαστροπῶν συναναστρεφόμενος.

5 Τί δὲ ἂν εἶπη τις περὶ τῆς ἀοκνίας καὶ εὐθύτητος καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀνδρίας τε καὶ ἀγαθότητος τοῦ ἀνακτος; Ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱππικῷ καθεσθὲς καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ συνεστιαθεὶς καὶ τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἀργυρίων παρασχῶν, καὶ τῇ δείλῃ ἐν τζυκανιστηρίῳ σφαιρίσας μετὰ τῶν δοκίμων καὶ ἐμπείρων καὶ πολλᾶκις τούτους νικήσας, εἰς μεταστάσιμον εἰς Ἀνωράτας μετέβη, κάκεισε θηρεύσας παμμεγέθεις χοίρους τέσσαρας καὶ κυνηγήσας πρὸς τὰ βασιλεια τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ ἀντεπέρασεν. Ἦν γὰρ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ νέος, σφριγῶν τῷ σώματι, σιτόχροος, εὐόφθαλμος, ἐπίριν, ῥοδινοπρόσω- | πος, χαροποιὸς καὶ γλυκὺς τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὄρθιος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὡσεὶ κυπάρισσος, εὐρὺς 473 τοῖς ὤμοις, ἦσυχος καὶ προσηγῆς, ὡς πάντας θαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸν

vain tears. Again after a lapse of days the sovereign moved them from there, and Zoe and Theodora and Theophano he assigned to the [monastery] of Antiochus,¹⁹⁹ and Agatha he sent to the monastery²⁰⁰ founded and occupied by Romanos I, the emperor at that time and grandfather of the sovereign: |, and he declared that they be provided with what they were also given in the Palace. 472

- 4 He also honoured as *magistros* Nikephoros, *domestikos* of the *scholai*, the [son] of Phokas, and sent him out him against the deniers of Christ in the East: and his brother, the *patrikios* Leo, he designated as *strategos*, whom also not much later he made *magistros* and *domestikos* of the West. One could see the ruler enjoying himself, spending time in the countryside in hunts and chases everywhere, while totally turning away from the imperial building and having entrusted care of the army to the [Phokas] brothers; he himself rejoiced and revelled in hunts outside Byzantium, associating with his young mates and flatterers and evil-counselling panderers.²⁰¹
- 5 How could anyone speak [adequately] of the resoluteness and righteousness and bravery and manly spirit and goodness of the ruler? On a single day he sat in the Hippodrome and feasted with the senate, also distributing gifts of silver, and in the afternoon on the polo-ground he played polo²⁰² with skilled and experienced [players] and often defeated them, [then] crossed to Anoratai²⁰³ for a solemn procession and then, after chasing and hunting four huge boars, he crossed back to the Palace.²⁰⁴ For he was of a young age, | physically vigorous; his complexion the colour of ripe wheat, his eyes beautiful, his nose long; he had a ruddy face, was joyful and charming in his words, upright in stature like a cypress tree, with broad shoulders, gentle and kindly,²⁰⁵ so that all were astonished and amazed at the man. The citizenry 473

199 See Janin 1969, 123 and Janin 1964, 310.

200 The Myrelaion.

201 For similar statements on these evil influences on Romanos II see Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.2 (Hase 1828, 6) and especially 2.10 (Hase 1828, 30) and Skylitzes, *Synopsis* (Romanos II, chap. 2, Thurn 1973, 248).

202 On the Palace polo ground see *ODB* 2:2137.

203 Presumably a variant for τὰ Ὀνωράτου, a suburb on the Asian side of the Bosporos, see Janin 1964, 486. It appears as Ἀνωράται in Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 4.7 (Hase 1828, 65).

204 See Treadgold 2013, 215 who sees “sarcasm behind the ostensible praise” in the passage.

205 Cf. the similar description of his father Constantine VII above, TheophCont [468:15–23].

άνδρα. Συνέχαιρεν δι' αὐτὸν ἡ πολιτεία ὡς εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν κρατοῦντα. Καὶ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ πλούσιαί αἱ σιτήσεις καὶ αἱ τροφαὶ χορηγοῦμεναι.

- 6 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς καὶ ἕτερον υἱὸν μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπεγέννησεν, Κωνσταντῖνον τοῦτον ὀνομάσας. Καὶ [οὐ] μετ' οὐ πολὺ στέφεται παρὰ Πολυεύκτου πατριάρχου ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας. Ἡ δὲ Αὐγουστα Ἐλένη ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οὖσα κλινήρης καὶ συναγαλλομένη τῷ ἄνακτι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἱκανοὺς χρόνους ἀρρωστοῦσα, εὐσεβῶς τέθνηκεν κατὰ τὴν ἐννεακαιδεκάτην τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός· καὶ ταύτην βασιλικῶς τιμήσας, καὶ ἐν τῇ χρυσοκολλήτῳ καὶ διὰ μαργαριτῶν καὶ λίθων κλίβη τεθείσα, τῆς συγκλήτου προπεμπούσης, ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς Ῥωμανοῦ βασιλέως συσταθέντι, τῷ ὄντι εἰς τὸ Μυρέλαιον, θάπτεται ἐν λάρνακι πλησίον καὶ σύνεγγυς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.
- 7 Τὸν δὲ μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν Νικηφόρον τὸν τοῦ Φωκᾶ ὁ ἄναξ ὁ χρηστός, ὁ ἠδύς, ὁ προσηγής, καὶ ὅσοις ὀνόμασι χρῆ καλεῖσθαι καλοῖς καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὀνομάζειν, μετὰ ἐκστρατείας καὶ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ ἐξοπλίσεως καρabiών πολεμικῶν καὶ ὕγρου πυρὸς εἰς Κρήτην διωρίσατο ἀπελθεῖν· οἱ γὰρ Κρητικοὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ καὶ κακὰ καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας καθ' ἐκάστην εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐποιούντο, ἀφ' ὅτου ταύτην τὴν μεγάλην | νῆσον ἐπόρθησαν. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ἀμορραίου τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοφίλου ταύτην ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων εἰς τὴν στάσιν καὶ τυραννίδα τοῦ Μωροθωμᾶ τοῦ συντρόφου τοῦ Μιχαήλ (καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τρισὶ χρόνοις σχεδὸν καὶ πλεῖον τὴν Θρακικὴν καὶ Μακεδονικὴν ἐκράτησεν ὁ τύραννος) εὐκαιρίαν εὐρόντες οἱ ἀπὸ Σπανίας ἀνελθόντες Σαρακηνοὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ στόλου πολεμικῶν καρabiών κατέσχον ταύτην, ὡς εἶναι τὴν τούτων διακράτησιν

rejoiced thanks to him as successful and a conqueror of foreign peoples. And in Byzantium there was abundant food and nourishment being provided.

- 6 The emperor Romanos (II) also fathered another son after the death of his father, naming him Constantine (VIII). Not much later he was crowned by Polyeuktos the patriarch in the ambo of Saint Sophia. The *augousta* Helena was in the Palace bedridden and rejoicing in the ruler and after an illness of some time she died piously on the nineteenth of the month of September.²⁰⁶ He honoured her in imperial fashion and she was placed on a gold bier inlaid with pearls and gemstones, and, escorted by the senate, interred in the monastery established by her father Romanos (I) the emperor, which is in the Myrelaion, in a sarcophagus near and close to her father himself.

- 7²⁰⁷ The good, the sweet, the kind ruler—and whatever good names it is necessary to call and name the man—ordered the *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai* Nikephoros, the [son] of [Bardas] Phokas, to depart for Crete with an expedition and great forces and armaments of warships²⁰⁸ and liquid fire. For the Cretans were perpetrating many terrible and evil acts against the land of the Romans and [taking] captives each day, from the time they besieged this great | island. For in the time of Michael (II) the Amorian the father of Theophilos, they conquered it, the [Byzantine] armies [being occupied]²⁰⁹ against the revolt and usurpation of Morothomas,²¹⁰ Michael's brother[-in-arms] (for indeed for nearly three years and more the usurper controlled the Thracian and Macedonian land²¹¹); the Saracens coming from Spain²¹² with a great fleet of warships found an opportune time and took

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206 In 961.

207 On the use of numerous parallels from Prokopios's description of the re-conquest of North Africa from the Vandals in this and the following chapters, thus undermining their historical value, see the highly persuasive article of Kaldellis 2015.

208 The author here and below uses the term *κεράβιον*, usually used of a transport ship (cf. Pseudo-Symeon [758:21]), but adds the adjective *πολεμικός*.

209 Supplying *ἀσχολουμένων* from the parallel *ἀσχολουμένου* in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 18, line 7 (see below Text 2a, ed. Markopoulos).

210 "Foolish Thomas" or Thomas the Slav, see *ODB* 3:2019. Thomas and Michael had served together under the *strategos* Bardanes Tourkos on whom see *ODB* 1:255.

211 Reading with the manuscript *χώραν*, lacking in the Bonn edition.

212 While originally from Cordoba, these invaders had spent the previous ten years in Alexandria until driven from there by the 'Abbasids, see Miles 1964, 10–11.

καὶ κατὰσχεσιν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἐπορθήθησαν παρὰ τοῦ μαγίστρου καὶ δομestί-
κου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἔτη ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα ὀκτώ.

- 8 "Ὅθεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμανὸς ζήλω θεῖω κινήσεις, τῇ συμβουλῇ καὶ εὐβουλίᾳ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου Ἰωσήφ, ἐκ παντὸς τόπου ναῦς καὶ πλοῖα πολεμικὰ συναθροί-
σας μετὰ ὑγροῦ πυρός καὶ ἐπιλέκτου στρατοπέδου Θρακικῶν Μακεδονικῶν καὶ
Σθλαβησιάνων εἰς Κρήτην ἐκπέμψαι ἔδοξεν. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου οἰκείων δού-
λων αὐτοῦ ἐδυσχέρανον περὶ τῆς ἐκστρατείας τῆς Κρήτης, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες τὸν
ἀνακτα τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν παρελθόντων βασιλέων ἐξόδων καὶ καινοτομιῶν καὶ χρημά-
των ἀπειρῶν κατακενωθέντων καὶ μηδὲν ἀνυσάντων, μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τῆ
θεῖα λήξει Λέοντος βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Κωνσταντίνου, ὅσα χρή-
ματα καὶ λαὸς ἀνήλωτο καὶ ἀπώλετο, δεδοικότες τὸν κίνδυνον τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ
τὴν μεγάλην συμμαχίαν τῶν ὁμορούντων Σαρακηνῶν καὶ τὸν στόλον τῶν Σπάνων
καὶ Ἀφρικῶν καὶ τὴν διατρέχουσαν φήμην, ὅτι δι' οὗ ἡ Κρήτη πορθηθῆ βασιλεύ-
σει καὶ τῶν σκήπτρων καθέξει τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς.

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- 9 'Ὁ δὲ παρακοιμώμενος Ἰωσήφ, ὁ χρηστὸς καὶ ὀρθὸς καὶ ἄϋπνος νοῦς, εἰς μέσον στα-
θεὶς ἔφη "ἡμεῖς μὲν, δέσποτα, ἴσμεν πάντες ὅσα δεινὰ Ῥωμαίοις συνέβησαν παρὰ
τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς· καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι λογίσασθαι τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ τὰς
τῶν παρθένων φθορὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καταστροφὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν παραλίω
θεμάτων αἰχμαλωσίας, καὶ πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἀγω-
νίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ δεδιέναι τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ μήκος καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάσσης πελάγη καὶ τῆς
νίκης τὸ ἄδηλον καὶ τῆς φήμης τὸ ἀδύνατον. Καὶ χρή μάλιστα τῇ θεοσυνεργήτω
βουλῇ καὶ προστάξει σου πειθαρχεῖν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ σοι τοῦτο τὸ ἐνθύμημα. Καὶ
γὰρ καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ· μάλιστα διὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν καὶ πιστὸν δούλον στέλ-
λεσθαι τὸν δομestικὸν τῶν σχολῶν παρὰ τῆς θεοκυβερνήτου βασιλείας σου".

it [Crete], so it was their possession and sphere of control for 158 years,²¹³ until the day on which they were besieged by the *magistros* and *domestikos* Nikephoros Phokas.

(8) As a result the sovereign Romanos, moved by divine zeal and by the advice and good counsel of the *parakoimomenos* Joseph, collected from everywhere ships and vessels of war with liquid fire and a picked army of Thracians, Macedonians, and Sthlavesiano²¹⁴ and decided to send them to Crete. The men of the senate, his own servants, were vexed about the expedition to Crete, reminding the ruler of the expeditions, the unexpected events, and boundless funds expended accomplishing nothing in the time of previous emperors, especially in the time of the pious Leo (VI)²¹⁵ emperor by divine allotment and of the Porphyrogennetos Constantine,²¹⁶ of how much money and how many men were wasted and lost. They feared the danger of the sea and the great alliance of the neighbouring Saracens and the fleet of the Spaniards and the Africans and the rumour circulating that the man by whom Crete was besieged would become emperor | and hold the sceptre of the Roman Empire.

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(9) The *parakoimomenos* Joseph, the good and upright and unsleeping mind, standing in their midst said, “We all, master, know how many terrible things have befallen the Romans at the hands of the deniers of Christ. It is just to reckon up the slaughters and the rape of virgins and the destruction of churches and the captives taken from the maritime themes, and it is appropriate to fight for Christians and kindred, and not to fear the length of the voyage and the open stretches of the sea and the uncertainty of victory and the feebleness of rumour. It is especially necessary for us to obey a plan supported by God and your command, as this reasoning of yours is from God. For the heart of the emperor is in God’s hand,²¹⁷ especially through your upright and faithful servant, the *domestikos* of the *scholai*, being dispatched by your God-controlled empire.”

213 A mistake for 138, an error found also in Pseudo-Symeon [758:20] and Vat. gr. 163, chap. 18; see Treadgold 2013, 216 n. 71. The initial arrival of the Arabs in Crete is to be dated to about 823–825 and Michael became emperor in 823.

214 These were Slavs who had been settled in the Opsikion theme; for their participation in the expedition of 949 see Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cer.* 2:44–45 (Reishe 1829, 662, 666, and 669).

215 Under Himerios in 910–911.

216 Under Constantine Gongylios in 949. Romanos himself is portrayed in the *De Creta capta* as troubled by the failure of that in 949. For this and the expedition of 911 see Makrypoulas 2000. For inventories of equipment and supplies for that of 949 see Haldon 2000.

217 Prov. 21.1.

- 10 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκέτι ἠδύνατο· καὶ ἐξοπλί-
 σας καὶ ῥογεύσας τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ τῷ μαγίστρῳ χρήματα δούς, ἀπεκίνησεν μετὰ
 τοῦ κοιτωνίτου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἐπιστάτου, μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος πέμπτης. Νῆες
 γὰρ ὑπῆρχον μετὰ ὕγρου πυρὸς δισχίλια, δρόμωνες χίλιοι, καράβια καματηρὰ
 σιτήσεις ἔχοντα καὶ ὄπλα πολεμικὰ τριακόσια ἑπτὰ. Ὁ δὲ δομέστικος Νικηφό-
 ρος ἀπάρας τῆς βασιλίδος ἐν Φυγέλοις κατέλαβεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐφρόντιζεν ὅπως ὁ
 σύμπαρ πλοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ προσορμίζοιτο. Ἐμπροσθεν δὲ ὁ συνετὸς ταχυ-
 δρόμους γαλέας ἀπο- | στείλας κατασκοπήσαι καὶ κρατήσαι γλώσσαν προσέταξεν. 476
 Καὶ τούτων ἀφικομένων καὶ κρατησάντων, ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν μάγιστρον. Καὶ ζητη-
 τικώτερον τούτους ἐξετάσας, μαθὼν τὸν ἀμηρὰν τῆς Κρήτης καὶ τοὺς πρώτους
 τοῦ κάστρου ἔξω εἶναι εἰς τὰ οἰκεία προάστεια, εὐθύς τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ τῇ σπουδῇ
 κατέλαβεν καὶ προσώρμισεν. Καὶ ἀποβάς τῶν νηῶν χάρακα καὶ τάφρον βαθεῖαν
 κατεσκεύασεν, καὶ πρὸς κοῦρσον ἐχώρει, καὶ πάντας παρήνει ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ
 μὴ ἐξελαύνειν, πρὶν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ γνώσωσιν. Πρὸς δὲ κάστρον χωρήσας
 πάντας τοὺς Κρητικούς τοὺς ἔξω ὄντας τοῦ κάστρου μετὰ φόβου ἔσω ἐπέκλει-
 σεν. Ἐκτοτε δὲ πολλοὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡύτομόλουν πρὸς τὸν μάγιστρον. Μαθὼν δὲ
 ὁ Νικηφόρος ὅτι οἱ ἔξω τοῦ κάστρου ἀποκλεισθέντες εἰς τὰ στενώματα καὶ κλει-
 σούρας καὶ ῥυάκια καὶ ἔλη καὶ ὄρη προσέφυγον, διακοσμήσας οὖν στρατὸν καὶ
 ἵπποτοξότας καὶ Ῥῶς καὶ Ἀνατολικούς ἀρχοντας καὶ Θρακικούς καὶ Μακεδονικούς
 ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ συνετὸς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος δομέστικος ὄπισθεν Σάκα κατελείφθη·
 καὶ πάντες τῇ εὐβουλίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἐν οἰκείῳ χώρῳ ἐλογίζοντο εἶναι. Οἱ δὲ κατα-
 λαβόντες καὶ καταδραμόντες ἐν ᾧ τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ θρέμματα καὶ ἡ ὕπαρξις αὐτῶν

(10) On hearing this the sovereign could no longer restrain his intention. Providing equipment and pay for the army, and giving the *magistros* funds, he sent him off with the *koitonites* Michael the overseer,²¹⁸ in the month of July of the fifth indiction. There were 2000 ships with liquid fire, 1000 *dromons*, 307 transport ships²¹⁹ with provisions and military equipment. The *domestikos* Nikephoros departed from the queen [of cities] and reached Phygela²²⁰ and took thought for how his entire fleet might stay together and come to anchor. The intelligent man dispatched in advance swift-running galleys | and he ordered them to conduct reconnaissance and to capture informants. When they arrived and captured them, they brought them to the *magistros*. After he interrogated them quite searchingly and learned that the emir of Crete and the leading men of the city were outside in their own estates, straightway with speed and eagerness he arrived and dropped anchor. Disembarking from the ships he constructed a palisade and deep ditch, and proceeded to a marauding expedition and was advising everyone to stay together and not to ride off until they should know his [the enemy's] strength. Proceeding to the city he confined inside, in fear, all the Cretans who were outside the city. Thereafter many deserters were coming to the *magistros* each day. When Nikephoros learned that those shut outside the city fled to narrow defiles and *kleisourai* and hollows and marshlands and mountains, he arrayed his army and dispatched horse-mounted archers and Rus'²²¹ and Anatolic and Thracian and Macedonian leaders. The intelligent and courageous *domestikos* himself was left behind the rear-guard.²²² Everyone reckoned themselves as if on home territory with the man's good counsel. And arriving and overrunning the place where their [the enemy's] herds

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218 See *PmbZ* #25246 where the authors suggest that Michael's function is as a personal associate of the emperor on site to show imperial concern for the undertaking, but also perhaps related to Romanos's mistrust based on the rumour that the conqueror of Crete would become emperor, and/or that Michael may have had oversight of the finances.

219 The author here gives 2000 νῆες with liquid fire, 1000 *dromons*, and 307 transport ships. Pseudo-Symeon [758:20–22] gives 2000 *chelandia* with liquid fire, 1000 *dromons*, 360 transport ships. The figures are greatly exaggerated, with other sources placing the total number at 700 ships, the *dromons* at 250. See Christides 1984, 173–174 and Tsougarakis 1988, 62.

220 An important naval base near Ephesus. See Foss 2010, 123–124 with notes.

221 On the possible negotiations for this detachment of Rus' mercenaries see Obolensky 1988/1989, 155, on the Rus' generally, *ODB* 3:1818–1820.

222 On the term here, *σάκκα*, see McGeer 1995, 283–284 and Haldon 2014, 158 who notes that “their task was not simply to protect the army but also to pursue or turn back deserters, stragglers, and the like.”

κατεκρύπτετο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠϋλίζοντο, πάντα ληϊσάμενοι μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ νίκης ὑπενόστησαν. Ἐκτοτε δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀφόβως ἠπλίκευον ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν αἱ διειδεῖς κρήναι καὶ τῶν παντοδαπῶν ὀπωρῶν τὸ πληθὺς, καὶ ἕκαστος τὴν καλύβην αὐτοῦ ἐν δένδροις ὀπώρας εἶχον, καὶ τῶν καρπῶν βεόντων καὶ πάντων ἀπολαυόντων ἔχαιρον, καὶ ἐπηύχοντο τὸν καλῶς στρατηγούντα αὐτοῖς μάγιστρον.

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- 11 Ὁ δὲ ἀμηράς τῆς Κρήτης, ὁ λεγόμενος Κουρούπας, τὰ συμβάντα πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους Ἀγαρηνοὺς τῆς Σπανίας καὶ Ἀφρικῆς ἐδηλοποίησεν καὶ βοήθειαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἤτει. Οἱ δὲ ἀποστείλαντες γαλέας εὐθυδρόμους τοῦ μαθεῖν τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν καὶ ὑποταγὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ δὴ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ τάχους πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην ἀφίκοντο, καὶ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς διὰ σχοινοῦ εἰς τὸ κάστρον εἰσῆσαν, καὶ τὸν ἀμηρᾶν τὸν Κουρούπαν καὶ τοὺς προύχοντας τοῦ κάστρου ἐντυχόντες, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀπογνώσει εἰδότες τὸ ὅτι πράξαιεν κατὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ μαγίστρου, περιπλακέντες τῷ τραχήλῳ τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας οὐδὲν ἕτερον προσεφθέγγοντο, τῇ χειρὶ σφίγγοντες, καὶ ἔκλαιον ὀδυρόμενοι, ἵκετεύοντες ἐκστρατεύσαι τοὺς ἀμηράδας πρὸς συμμαχίαν καὶ βοήθειαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ τάχος αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν. Οἱ δὲ παλινδρομήσαντες, πρὸς τοὺς ἀμηράδας ἀφίκετο ἕκαστος, καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἐξοπλίσεως καὶ ἐκστρατείας καταβίωσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐθνῶν συμμαχίαν καὶ συγκρότησιν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν διεγερσιν καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν πίστιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀποστροφὴν παντοίων παθῶν ἔφησαν. Οἱ δὲ θάμβους πλησθέντες οὐδαμῶς ἠθέλησαν βοήθειαν ἢ συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι. |

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- 12 Τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ παρακαθεζομένου ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἀπείρου χειμῶνος καὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ κρύου γεννησομένου, καὶ τῶν σιτίων καὶ τροφῶν δαπανηθέντων καὶ τῶν περιβολαίων διαλυθέντων καὶ γυμνωθέντων καταναρκήσαντες οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ οἰκαδε ἠβουλήθησαν ἀναστρέψαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ συνετὸς ἠγεμὼν Νικηφόρος τῇ διαλαλίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἠδύτητι τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ πάντας κατέσχευεν. Ἐφη γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς “ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί μου καὶ συστρατιῶται, λάβωμεν εἰς νοῦν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον· ἀγωνισώμεθα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὕβριν ἐκδικήσαι· στώμεν γενναίως ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ κατ’ ἐχθρῶν δυσσεβῶς ὀπλισμένων· λάβωμεν πίστιν τὴν τῶν φόβων φονεύτριαν· ἀναλογισώμεθα ὅτι ἔνδον ἐσμέν τῆς Συριακῆς νήσου. Μέγαν κίνδυνον ἢ φυγὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὧδε

and animals and property were hidden and they were themselves camped, they plundered all and returned with joy and victory. Thereafter the Romans without concern or fear encamped where there were clear springs and a multitude of various fruits | and each had his tent among fruit trees, and with the fruits dropping off and everyone enjoying [them], they rejoiced and exulted in the *magistros* who led them well. 477

- 11 The emir of Crete, called Kouroupas,²²³ made the events known to the neighbouring Hagarenes of Spain and Africa²²⁴ and was seeking aid and alliance. They dispatched straight-running galleys to learn about the leader and the army, and the conditions and the obedience of the army to its leader, and indeed with great speed they came to Crete and during the night they entered the city by a rope. They met with the emir Kouroupas and the leading men of the city, and saw them in difficulty and indolent and not knowing what to do against the Roman army and the *magistros*. Embracing the ambassadors around the neck, they said nothing more, [but] grasping them with their hands they wept lamenting, begging that the emirs send an expedition to ally with them and provide aid; then quickly dispatched them. When they hurried back and each came to his emir, they told of the great [Byzantine] armaments and expedition of ships and the alliance and amalgamation of various peoples and the energy and intelligence of the *strategos* and his faith in God and his justice and his turning away from every sort of passion. Filled with amazement they [the emirs] were in no way willing to give aid or an alliance. | 478

- 12 With the [Byzantine] army settled on the island and boundless winter and rain and freezing in the offing, and the grain and provisions consumed and their cloaks falling apart and [the troops] naked, the soldiers grown torpid wanted to return home. The courageous and intelligent leader Nikephoros with his speeches and the sweetness of his words restrained them all. For he said to them,²²⁵ “Men, my brothers and fellow soldiers, let us bring to mind the fear of God; let us fight to avenge the insult against God; let us take a stand nobly in Crete against the impiously armed enemy; let us have faith, the slayer of fears; let us reflect that we are on the Syrian island. Flight from

223 Abd al-Aziz ibn Shu'ayb.

224 Arab sources indicate a request for aid was made to the Fatamid caliph al-Mu'izz, see Tsougarakis 1988, 68–70.

225 The speech is closely modelled on one of Heraklios as is the short response that follows as found in Theophanes the Confessor, *Chron.* (de Boor 1883/1963, 307:3–19).

φέρει. Ἐκδικήσωμεν τὰς φθοράς τῶν παρθένων· τὰ τετιμημένα μέλη βλέποντες τετρωμένα ὀδυνηθῶμεν τὰς καρδίας. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμισθος ὁ κόπος καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος. Στῶμεν καὶ καρτερήσωμεν εἰς ἀντιπαράταξιν τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς συνεργήσει ἡμῖν, καὶ ὀλέσει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν, καὶ πορθήσεται τὸ κάστρον τῶν ἀλαζόνων τοῦ Χριστοῦ”. Καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραινέσαντος ἀπεκριθῆ εἰς ὑπὲρ πάντων “ἦνοιξας ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας, μάγιστρε. Ἐστόμωσαν καὶ ὤξιναν οἱ λόγοι τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ προθέσεις ἡμῶν. Ἀνεπτέρωσας τὰς διανοίας ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπόμεθα τῇ σῇ βουλῇ καὶ προστάξει, καὶ σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανοῦμεν”. |

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- 13 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὀκτωβρίῳ μηνὶ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμανοῦ ἐγένετο σπάνη σίτου καὶ κριθῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐπράθη γὰρ ὁ σίτος τῷ νομίσματι μόδιοι δ’ καὶ ἡ κριθὴ μόδιοι στ’. Καὶ ἦν θεάσασθαι τὸν ἐγρήγορον νοῦν Ἰωσήφ προνοούμενον τὸ κοινόν. Εὐθύς οὖν ἐξαποστέλλει εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν τοῦ ἐξελάσαι συνωνάς καὶ ἐμπορευτικά πλοῖα καὶ τοῦ κωλύσαι τοὺς σιτοκαπήλους ἀποτιθέναι τὸν σίτον· ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ ἀπροσωπόληπτος καὶ πιστός. Οὐ πολὺς οὖν ἐν μέσῳ χρόνος παρήλθεν, ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτὼ τῷ νομίσματι ἐπράθη. Τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, σπουδαῖος καὶ θερμός, ὡς ἄλλον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἢ μετ’ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐξισωθῆναι.
- 14 Μαρτίῳ δὲ μηνὶ ὁ λεγόμενος Πετεινὸς μάγιστρος κατηγορήθη Βασίλειος ὀνομαζόμενος, ὑποθήκη τινῶν κακοσυμβούλων μούλτον μελετήσαι· καὶ τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξορία πέμπει, κάκεισε τελευτᾷ. Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῆς Ἐφῶας ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρεῖν τὸν ἄθεον Χαμβδάν ἀσκέπαστον τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἐλάσαι κούρσα καὶ αἰχμαλωτίσαι καὶ πραιδεῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν γῆν. Καὶ ἐνωθεὶς τῷ στρατηγῷ Καππαδοκίας Κων-

these places thus brings great danger. Let us avenge the rape of virgins; seeing esteemed limbs wounded let us feel pain in our hearts. Toil and danger are not without reward. Let us take a stand and let us be steadfast against the opposing array of the deniers of Christ, and Christ God will work with us and will destroy our enemies, and the city of the braggarts against Christ will be plundered.” He provided them much other advice and one²²⁶ replied for all, “You have opened our hearts, *magistros*. Your words have steeled and sharpened our powers and resolve. You have given wings to our purpose and we follow your plan and command, and we will die with you.” |

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- 13 In the month of October of the second year²²⁷ of the reign of Romanos there was a shortage of wheat and barley in the City. For wheat was sold at four *modioi* and barley at six *modioi per nomisma*. One could see the alert mind of Joseph looking out for the common good. Straightaway then he sent to the East and West to spur [grain] purchasing and merchant ships and to prevent grain sellers from hoarding the grain. For the man was just and without respect for persons²²⁸ and faithful. Very little intervening time passed and the [grains] were sold at seven and eight per *nomisma*.²²⁹ For such was the man, eager and fervent, as no one else before or after him was his equal.
- 14 In the month of March the so-called Peteinos, the *magistros* named Basil, was denounced for engaging in rebellion on the warning of certain evil counsellors. The emperor sent him into exile and he died there. The *patrikios* and *domestikos* of the West Leo, the brother of Nikephoros *domestikos* of the East,²³⁰ was sent in place of his brother to Anatolia so that the godless Chambdan would not find Anatolia unprotected and undertake marauding expeditions and take captives and plunder Roman land. United with

226 *PmbZ* Anon. #31443.

227 An error for the third year; see Treadgold 2013, 216 n. 71.

228 i.e. without partiality, cf. 1Pet. 1.17.

229 The reading of the Vatican manuscript here is difficult, presumably Ζ' καὶ Η' for the Bonn edition's ἐπταὶ ἢ ὀκτώ, although the Ζ' may be a Δ', and is preceded by 2–3 unclear letters. Pseudo-Symeon [759:15–16] gives for these two values eight and twelve, thus a halving of the price. On the average price of wheat in the absence of a shortage, 1/12 *nomisma* per *modios*, see Morrisson and Cheynet 2002, 823 and 830. Teall 1959, 114–115 suggests that more general shortages rather than supplying the army were at fault. For Leo Phokas as a grain speculator later in the decade see Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 4.6 (Hase 1828, 64) and for both Leo and Nikephoros Phokas, Skylitzes *Synopsis* (Nikephoros II, chap. 20, Thurn 1973, 278).

230 The manuscript's δύσεως Λέων ὁ ἀδελφὸς Νικηφόρου δομεστικῶ (ms. δομέστικος) τῆς ἐφῶς, translated here, is lacking in the Bonn edition.

σταντίνω τῷ πατρικίῳ Μαλεΐνω καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς στρατηγοῖς μετὰ τῶν ταγμάτων, καὶ τὴν ἐκστρατείαν τοῦ ἀλαζόνος ἐπιτυχῶν εἰς τὸν τόπον Ἀνδρασσὸν λεγόμενον, συμβαλὼν κατὰ κράτος νενίκηκε, καὶ καταπολεμήσας | καὶ εἰς φυγὴν τρέψας. Ἦν 480 τότε θεάσασθαι νεκροὺς σκυλευομένους, καὶ ἀναιρουμένους τοὺς ἀλαζόνας Ἀγαρηνοὺς, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν τρεπομένους, καὶ ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ τούτους ζωγρουμένους καὶ μήτε ἀρμάτων [ἢ ἵππων] ἢ φαρίων ἢ χρημάτων ἢ συγγενῶν μεταποιοιμένους· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας συμφορᾶς ἑαυτὸν περιέσωζεν. Τότε δὴ τότε ὁ ἀλαζὼν καὶ ὑπερήφανος Χαμβιδᾶς ἐχειροῦτο σταθέντος καὶ ὀκλάσαντος τοῦ φάρα οὐ τινὸς ἐπέβαινεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ μαγαρίτης Ἰωάννης ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτοῦ ἀποβάς τοῦ ἰδίου φάρα ἐπέδοτο, αὐτοῦ κρατηθέντος καὶ τοῦ ἀλαζόνος περισωθέντος. Πάντα δὲ τοῦ πολέμου κρατηθέντος λάφυρα ἅμα τῶν ζωγρηθέντων ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀπηνέγκατο καὶ ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ ἐπόμπευσεν.

- 15 Τῶν δὲ Τούρκων ἐκστρατείαν ποιησάντων κατὰ τῆς Θράκης, καὶ τοῦ πατρικίου Μαριανοῦ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ μονοστρατηγοῦντος ἐν τῷ θέματι τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ κατεπάνω ὄντος τῆς δύσεως, συνήνησεν καὶ κατεπολέμησεν, καὶ πλείστους ζωγρήσας μετ' αἰσχύνης εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ὑπονοστήσαι ἐποίησεν.
- 16 Τοῦ δὲ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμανοῦ μαθόντος τὴν στενοχωρίαν καὶ γύμνωσιν καὶ ἔνδειαν τῶν τροφῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τῇ εὐβουλίᾳ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου Ἰωσήφ παρευθὺ τὰ πρὸς χορηγίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλεν. Οἱ δὲ βραχὺ ψυχαγωγηθέντες καὶ ἐπὶ μῆσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα σχεδὸν καὶ πλέον παρακαθίσαντες, καὶ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ δαπάνης τῶν Κρητικῶν δαπανηθείσης, καὶ εἰς ἀνάγκην προχωρούντων καὶ καθ'

the *strategos* of Cappadocia, Constantine the *patrikios* Maleinos, and the remaining *strategoï* with the regiments, and encountering the expedition of the braggart at the place called Andrassos,²³¹ engaging at full strength [Leo] won the victory, both subduing them completely | and turning them 480 to flight.²³² One could then see bodies being stripped and the braggart Hagarenes being killed and turned to flight, and in reckoning on enslavement those being taken alive indeed having no concern for chariots²³³ and horses and money and kin; but each one was trying to save himself from his own misfortune. Then indeed then the braggart, the overweening Chambdan, when the horse on which he was mounted stalled and faltered, would have had his hands full, had not the Christian renegade John, his retainer, dismounted from his own horse and given it to him; he [John] was seized and the braggart [Chambdan] saved.²³⁴ All the booty of the victorious battle with the captive deniers of Christ he [Leo Phokas] brought to Byzantium and paraded in the triumph.²³⁵

- 15 When the Turks²³⁶ made an expedition against Thrace and the *patrikios* Marianos Argyros was *monostrategos* in the theme of Macedonia and *katepano* of the West, he met and subdued them completely and after taking very many captives caused them to return to their own land in shame.²³⁷
- 16 When the sovereign Romanos learned of the army's distress and lack of clothing and need of food, straightway on the good advice of the *parakoimomenos* Joseph he dispatched the supplies to them. The men were almost dying and for nearly eighteen months²³⁸ and more had been settled there; and with the food and resources of the Cretans expended they were approaching dire necessity and each day deserters were coming to the *mag-*

231 Vat gr. 163, chap. 20 calls the location "the *kleisoura*, the so-called Kyлиндros." For its possible location see Markopoulos 1979, 112.

232 November 8, 960. Leo Phokas's tactics here are described in some detail by Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 2.4 (Hase 1828, 22) and the similarity between his tactics generally and those found in the *De velitatione*, often attributed to Nikephoros Phokas, led Dennis 1985, 139–140 to suggest Leo Phokas as the possible author of that treatise.

233 Perhaps one should emend to ἀρμάτων, "weapons."

234 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 2:2–5 (Hase 1828, 19–24) describes the battle in detail and indicates that Chambdan escaped by strewing gold and silver in his wake to divert his pursuers.

235 On the triumph see McCormick 1990, 166–167.

236 Here as often Turks = Magyars.

237 This Magyar raid occurred in 961; see Antonopoulos 1993, 263.

238 The same error, eighteen for eight, occurs in Vat. gr. 163, chap. 21.

ἐκάστην πρὸς τὸν μάγιστρον αὐτομο- | λούντων, καὶ τῇ τὰ πάντα θεοῦ ἠνιοχοῦντος 481
 προστάξει τῇ τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς τῆς ἕκτης ἰνδικτιῶνος ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχο-
 λῶν τὸν στρατὸν πρὸς πολεμικὰς ὥτρυνε παρατάξεις, διαφόρους συστησάμενος
 φάλαγγας τε καὶ ἀσπίδας καὶ σάλπιγγας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνέστησεν, τῶν ταγμα-
 των καὶ τῶν θεματικῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ῥώσ καὶ Σθλαβησιάνων καὶ
 Θρακικῶν ἐπελθεῖν τῷ κάστρῳ ἐκέλευσεν. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν ὠθισμούς καὶ ἀντωθισμούς
 καὶ συγκρούσματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ πετρῶν βολὰς καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανικῶν ἐλε-
 πόλεων πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς ἐπάλλξεις τοῦ κάστρου, καὶ τοῖς ἀλαζόσι θάμβος
 καὶ ἔκπληξις καὶ φόβος ἐπιπεσῶν. Καὶ βραχὺ τοῦ πολέμου κρατοῦντος τὸ κάστρον
 παρέλαβον. Καὶ ἦν θεάσασθαι τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας.

istros. | At the command of God who was guiding the reins in all things, 481
 on the ...²³⁹ of the month of March, the sixth indiction, the *domestikos* of
 the *scholai* roused the army against the enemy battle lines; he set up differ-
 ent phalanxes and shields and trumpets. After he set them up he ordered
 [this combination] of regiments and thematic officers and Armenians and
 Rus' and Sthlavesianoï and Thracians to go against the city. One could see
 thrust and counterthrust and clashes between the two sides,²⁴⁰ and cast-
 ing of stones and missiles especially [those] from city-seizing engines²⁴¹
 [hurled] against the wall and the battlements of the city. Amazement and
 astonishment and fear fell upon the braggarts, and, after a battle briefly at
 its height, they took the city. And one could see the Saracen women and
 children ...²⁴²

239 The specific day date is not found in the manuscript.

240 Cf. Theophanes the Confessor, *Chron.* (de Boor 1883, 304:5–7): *σάλπιγγές τε και φάλαγγες
 ἀσπίδων ... ὠθισμοὶ τε βίαιοι και συγκρούσματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους.*

241 i.e. trebuchets. The grammar here is questionable.

242 The manuscript breaks off here, though presumably the original text completed the
 reign of Romanos II; see Featherstone 2011, 118; but see above n. 122. Pseudo-Symeon
 continues to the sack of Aleppo in December 962, the Vat. gr. 163 version of Symeon
 the Logothete to the summer of 963, breaking off just before Nikephoros Phokas is
 declared emperor by the army.

1 Πεντεκαιδεκάτη δὲ Ἰουλίου μηνός, ἰνδικτιώνος ἕκτης, Ρωμανός
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Πρώτῃ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ
πόλει διακομισθὲν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀπετέθη μονῇ. Ὅσοι δὲ ἔβαλον χεῖρας ἐν
τῇ καταβάσει τοῦ βασιλέως Ρωμανοῦ ταῦτα πεπόνθασιν. Ὁ μὲν μάγι-
5 στρος Βασίλειος ὁ Πετεινὸς ἐπὶ Ρωμανοῦ βασιλέως υἱοῦ τοῦ Πορφυ-
ρογεννήτου ὑπὸ τινων κατηγορηθεὶς τυραννίδα μελετῆσαι, εἰσκομισθεὶς
καὶ πομπευθεὶς καὶ ἐν ἔξορίᾳ παραπεμφθεὶς στένων καὶ τρέμων ἐκείσε
ἐτελεύτησεν. Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Μαρριανὸς ὁ Ἀπαββάς γυναικὸς τινος πλά-
κα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ριψάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ μόρῳ τοῦ Ἰούδα
10 ἐχρήσατο. Ὁ δὲ Διογένης ὁ στρατηγὸς παρὰ τῶν δύο ἀτζουπάδων τοῦ
Μαλεῖνου τὸν κακὸν θάνατον ἀπετέλεσεν. Ὁ δὲ Κουρτίκιος ἀπερχόμενος
εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ δρόμωνος ποντισθεὶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐλάκισεν ὡς Ἰούδας.
Ὁ δὲ Κλάδων εὐρεθεὶς εἰς μούλτον ἄμα Φιλίπῳ καὶ Βυζαντίῳ ρινο-
τομηθέντες, ἀπετμήθησαν καὶ τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν.

The Revised Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 948–963 from Vat. gr. 163 and the Interpolations on Nikephoros the Elder from Vat. gr. 153

a The Revised Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 948–963 from Vat. gr. 163¹

1 (Cf. TheophCont 437–438: 3, 441: 7) | On the fifteenth of the month of July, 91
 in the sixth indiction,² Romanos (I) the emperor died on the island of Prote
 and his body was carried across to the City and interred in his monastery.³
 All who had a hand in the deposition of the emperor Romanos (I) suffered as
 follows. The *magistros* Basil Peteinos in the time of Romanos (II), son of the
 Porphyrogenetos, was accused by certain men of seeking to usurp power;
 he was arrested and paraded for public derision and sent into exile groaning
 and trembling and died there. The *patrikios* Marianos the Apabbas⁴ suffered
 the fate of Judas⁵ when a certain woman threw a tile from a height onto his
 head. Diogenes the *strategos* died the evil death at the hands of two body-
 guards⁶ of Maleinos. Kourtikios,⁷ going off to Crete in a *dromon*, drowned in
 the sea and burst like Judas. Kladon⁸ was discovered in a rebellious plot with
 Philip and Byzantios⁹—they had their noses slit and their ears cut off.

1 Ed. Markopoulos 1979. As noted in the Acknowledgements, I am most grateful to Professor Markopoulos and the editors of *Symmeikta* for their permission to reprint the Greek text here.

2 In 948. Theophanes Continuatus [441:11–13] has the 15th of June, while Pseudo-Symeon [754:16] has the 15th of July.

3 The Myrelaion.

4 Marianos Argyros, the meaning of the epithet is unknown; he is called Ἀπαμβας at Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* 1.96 (Reiske 1829, 435.14).

5 Acts 1:18.

6 *PmbZ* Anon. #30440.

7 i.e. Manuel Kourtikes.

8 Leo Kladon.

9 Theophanes Continuatus [438:11–19] mentions all these conspirators except Byzantios; the authors of the *PmbZ* entry (#21218) suggest, given the rarity of the name, that this may not be a reference to a person, but to the city in a corrupt portion of the text.

- 2 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος καταλειφθεὶς μόνος
 μονοκράτωρ προχειρίσατο Βασίλειον τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον αὐτοῦ, τὸν
 ἀπὸ παλλακίδος φυσικὸν υἱὸν Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
 πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ, πατρίκιον καὶ παρακοιμώμενον καὶ παραδυναστεύοντα
 5 τῆς Συγκλήτου. Οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἐχέφρων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντα ἐν πάσιν
 ὑπηρετεῖ οἰκείως τε καὶ πρεπόντως. Φιλάνθρωπος δὲ ὢν ὁ βασιλεὺς διε-
 νοήθη ἀλλάγιον ποιῆσαι μετὰ τῶν Ταρσιτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκέισε ὄντας αἰχμα-
 λώτους Ρωμαίους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναρρύσασθαι, διὰ τὸ
 ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρόνοις κακουχεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ θλίψεσι. Καὶ δὴ
 10 ἀπέστειλε τὸν προμνημονευθέντα μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν
 Ἰωάννην τὸν Κουρκούαν, ἄνδρα συνετὸν καὶ πεπειραμένον, καὶ Κοσμάν
 μάγιστρον, σοφὸν καὶ λόγιον καὶ νομομαθῆ, οἵτινες τὸ ἀλλάγιον ποιήσαν-
 τες ὑπέστρεψαν εὐμενῶς παρὰ τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου Κωνσταντίνου ὑπο-
 δεχθέντες.
- 3 Ἐναυλον δὲ τὴν μνήμην ἔχων ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἀδικιῶν καὶ ζη-
 μιῶν, ὧν ὑπέστησαν οἱ ἔλλεινοὶ καὶ ἄθλιοι πένητες παρὰ τε τῶν στρατη-
 γῶν καὶ τῶν τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις τοῦ δημοσίου ἐτησίως ποιουμένων ἐπὶ τοῦ
 πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ Ρωμάνου, ἐξαπέστειλε ἄνδρας εὐσεβεῖς καὶ θεαρέστους | 92
 5 πρὸς τὸ κουφίσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ βᾶρος. Εἰς μὲν τὸ Ἀνατολικὸν Ρωμα-
 νὸν μάγιστρον τὸν Σαρωνίτην, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ὀψίκιον Ρωμανὸν μάγιστρον
 τὸν Μουσελέ, εἰς δὲ τὸ Θρακῆσιον Φώτιον πατρίκιον, εἰς δὲ τοὺς Ἀρμε-
 νιακοὺς Λέοντα τὸν Ἀγέλαστον καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ἐφεξῆς θέματα, οἵτινες
 τῇ προτροπῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μικρὰν ἀνακωχὴν τοῖς πένησιν ἔδωρήσαντο.
- 4 Ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης Θεοφύλακτος ἀρρωστήσας καὶ σχεδὸν τῷ θανάτῳ
 προσεγγίσας καὶ μικρὸν ἀναρρωσθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέσχετο τῆς συνήθους μοχθη-
 ρίας τοῦ τε μετὰ δώρων χειροτονεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἵππων καὶ
 βλακειῶν. Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου καὶ αὐθις κυριευθεὶς τέλη τοῦ βίου
 5 ἐχρήσατο, ἀρχιερατεύσας χρόνους εἰκοσιτέσσαρας· χειροτονεῖται δὲ ἀντ'
 αὐτοῦ Πολύευκτος μοναχός, ἀσκητικῶ βίῳ διαλάμπων καὶ βιώσας ὁσίως
 ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἐν τε ἀρεταῖς καὶ ὀρθοδόξοις δόγμασιν. Εὐρῶν δὲ
 βασιλεὺς ἐχέφρονα πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς λειτουργίας Ἰωσήφ τὸν πατρίκιον
 καὶ πραιπόσιτον δρουγγάριον τῶν πλωίμων προεβάλετο, ὡσαύτως καὶ

- 2 (Cf. TheophCont 442–443: 9) The emperor Constantine the Porphyrogenetos, left alone as sole sovereign,¹⁰ appointed his *protovestiaros* Basil,¹¹ the natural son from a concubine of Romanos [I] the previous emperor and his father-in-law, *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos* and *paradynasteuon* of the senate. This man was prudent and was serving the emperor *in every respect*¹² dutifully and appropriately. As a humanitarian the emperor was minded to make an exchange with the Tarsians and to rescue the Roman captives there from the deniers of Christ, because for many years they had suffered in chains and afflictions. Indeed he dispatched the aforementioned *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai* John Kourkouas, an intelligent and accomplished man, and Kosmas the *magistros*, who was wise and learned and knowledgeable in the law, and they made the exchange and returned, graciously received by the Porphyrogennetos Constantine.
- 3 (Cf. TheophCont 443–444: 10) The emperor had ringing in his ears the memory of injustices and losses which the pitiful and wretched poor underwent at the hands of *strategoï* and those annually making the demands of the treasury in the time of his father-in-law Romanos (I): he dispatched pious men who were pleasing to God | to lighten the great burden on them; to the Anatolikon the *magistros* Romanos Saronites, to the Opsikion the *magistros* Romanos Mouseles, to the Thrakesion the *patrikios* Photios, to the Armeniakon Leo Agelastos, and to the remaining themes in turn men who granted a short respite to the poor at the behest of the sovereign. 92
- 4 (Cf. TheophCont 444–445: 11) The patriarch Theophylaktos, after becoming ill and coming near death and slightly regaining strength, did not refrain from his customary wickedness both from conducting ordinations for bribes and from being concerned with horses and stupidities. Then again overcome by the disease he met life's end, after serving as patriarch for twenty-four years; in his place Polyeuktos, a monk, was ordained, a shining example of the ascetic life and a man who lived devoutly from his youth in virtue and orthodox dogmas. The emperor found the *patrikios* and *praispositos* Joseph¹³ prudent in public service and designated him *droungarios* of the fleet, and

10 On the date of Constantine VII as "sole sovereign," 948, see above n. 46.

11 Basil Lekapenos.

12 Cf. 1 Cor 12:6, 15:38, Eph. 1:23.

13 Joseph Bringas.

- 10 Βάρδαν μάγιστρον τὸν Φωκᾶν δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς προεχειρίσατο, νίκην τῇ ρωμαϊκῇ ἀρχῇ δι' αὐτοῦ προξενήσας.
- 5 Τῶν δὲ λογικῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἡμελημέ-
νων καὶ παρεωραμένων, ὁ βασιλεὺς παιδευτὰς ἀρίστους εἰς ταύτας ἐπέ-
στησε καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ μὲν (πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ) καὶ τῆνικαῦτα μυστικῶ
τὴν τῶν φιλοσόφων σχολὴν ἐνεχείρισε, τὴν δὲ τῶν ρητόρων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
5 μητροπολίτῃ Νικαίας, τὴν δὲ τῆς γεωμετρίας Νικηφόρῳ πατρικίῳ τῷ
Ἐρωτικῶ, τῷ γαμβρῷ Θεοφίλῳ ἐπάρχῳ, τὴν δὲ τῆς ἀστρονομίας Γρη-
γορίῳ ἀσηκρήτις. Καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰς τοὺς διδασκά-
λους καὶ φοιτητὰς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐποιεῖτο, ὁμοδιαίτους καὶ ὁμοτραπέζους
10 τούτους καθ' ἑκάστην ποιούμενος καὶ φιλοτιμίας παρέχων αὐτοῖς. Καὶ οὕτω
τὴν πολιτείαν Ρωμαίων σοφίᾳ καὶ γνώσει ἐπλούτισε· τὴν γὰρ γνῶσιν
καὶ ἀρετὴν οὕτως ἐτίμησεν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευ-
κότων.
- 6 Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς στολὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου φθαρείσας
φιλοτίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς ἀνεκαίνισε, τὸν δὲ Βουκολέοντα ζωδίοις ἐκό-
σμησεν ἐκ διαφόρων συλλεξάμενος τόπων, ποιήσας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἰχθυο-
τροφεῖον. Ἐρευνήσας δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει φύλακας καὶ τῶν ἕξω θεμά-
5 των τοὺς κατεχομένους δεσμίους, τῶν δεσμῶν ἐλυτρώσατο καὶ πάντες
ὡς σωτήρα εὐφήμουν αὐτόν. |
- 7 Ἰδὼν δὲ πολὺ τὸ πλεονεκτικὸν ἐκχυθὲν παρὰ τῶν ἀκορέστων καὶ
ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ χωρίων ὑπεισεληθόντων ἀρχόντων ὅτι τοὺς
ταλαιπώρους πένητας καταδυναστεύουσι καὶ εὐώνως καὶ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν
οἱ δυνατοὶ διὰ ποικίλης καὶ εὐμεθόδου αἰτίας προάσσεια ἐκτῆσαντο, συνα-

likewise appointed the *magistros* Bardas Phokas as *domestikos* of the *scholai* of the East,¹⁴ procuring victory for the Roman Empire through him.¹⁵

- 5 (Cf. TheophCont 445–446: 14) As the learned arts and sciences had been inexplicably neglected and ignored, the emperor set the best teachers over these [subjects], and appointed Constantine [*protospatharios*] and at that time *mystikos* to the school of philosophy, Alexander metropolitan of Nicaea to the school of rhetoric, the *patrikios* Nikephoros Erotikos¹⁶ to the school of geometry (he was the son-in-law of the eparch Theophilos), to the school of astronomy Gregory the *asecretis*. The sovereign showed great concern and regard for the teachers and students, making them daily companions and tablemates and furnishing them subsidies. Thus he enriched the Roman state with wisdom and knowledge; for he so honoured knowledge and virtue as no other of those who had been emperor before him.
- 6 (Cf. TheophCont 447–448: 15) But he also restored honourably and majestically the imperial garments that were damaged from the passage of time; he adorned the Boukoleon with statues he collected from various places, and he also constructed in it a fish tank. And after he sought out the prisons in the City and of the themes outside [the City] and the prisoners confined there, he freed them from their bonds and all applauded him as a saviour. | 93
- 7 (Cf. TheophCont 447–448: 15) After seeing the greed given free rein by the insatiable officials, who were insinuating themselves into the midst of districts and villages, because they oppressed the wretched poor, and that the powerful cheaply and rapaciously gained possession of estates through varied and tricky means, [Constantine VII] gathering his cabinet ordered that

14 The office of *domestikos* was not divided into East and West until the reign of Romanos II, presumably in the spring of 960 (see Cheynet 1986, 302), so this appears to have an anachronistic quality.

15 Regarding this initial appointment of Bardas Phokas as *magistros* and *domestikos* Theophanes Continuatus [436:5–8] says Constantine did so “as for a long time he [Bardas] had often displayed courage in wars”; he subsequently says (445:17–446:1) that Constantine, after providing Phokas with courageous troops, “procured victory for the Roman empire.” The Vat. gr. 163 text makes no reference to the provision of courageous troops, but does include this specific additional reference to Phokas, “through him” (δι’ αὐτοῦ), not found in Theophanes Continuatus, seemingly enhancing Bardas’s reputation. For Bardas Phokas’s questionable skills as commander-in-chief of the army for the years 950–954, however, see Cheynet 1986, 298.

16 In Theophanes Continuatus [446:13–14] it is Theophilos who is surnamed Erotikos, not Nikephoros.

- 5 γαγών τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα προσέταξε τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως αὐτοῦ ὑπεισεληθόντας πλουσίους καὶ ἐξωνησαμένους ἢ δωρησαμένους ἢ κατακρατήσαντας τοπία ἢ ἀγρούς ἢ χωρία ἀναργύρων ἐκδιώκεσθαι καὶ μικρόν τι τῆς λώβης ταύτης καὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀνεχαί-
 10 τισεν. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν προσιόντων ἀμφισβητήσεις καὶ δικολογίας καὶ στάσεις ἀπεστράφη τοῦ μὴ δικάζειν, ἀλλὰ ποτέ μὲν δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ποτέ δε καὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς συνδικάζειν οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο, παρισταμένων τῷ ἐκεί-
 νου βήματι. Ἐντεῦθεν τῷ φόβῳ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως παιδαγωγηθέντες δι-
 καστής δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος τῆς δίκης τῷ ἡδίκηκῷ ἐγένετο.
- 8 Ὁ αὐτὸς θεοφιλῆς Κωνσταντῖνος ἰδὼν καὶ τὸν στάβλον τῶν ἵππα-
 ρίων τοῦ πατριάρχου Θεοφυλάκτου, τὸν ὄντα πλησίον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ με-
 γάλῃς ἐκκλησίας, ἔκρινεν οὐ δίκαιον τοῦτον εἶναι ἀλόγων οἰκητήριον
 5 ἄλλ' εἰς γηροκομεῖον τοῦτον μετεσκεύασε καὶ χορηγίαν τροφῶν καὶ περι-
 βόλαια τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἐτύπωσε ἐτησίως λαμβάνειν. Θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ
 νοσοκομεῖον τοῦ ὀσίου ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεύς, σμικρότατον ὄν, οἰκοδομαῖς
 μακροτάταις κατασκευάζει καὶ χορηγίαν ἀνελλιπῆ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐτύ-
 10 πωσε καὶ εἰς αἰωνίζουσαν μνήμην τοῖς ἐφεξῆς κατέλιπεν. Ὅρων δὲ καὶ
 τὴν κεχρυσωμένην τῶν δεκαεννέα ἀκουβίτων στέγην σεσαθρωμένην καὶ
 15 καταπίπτουσαν, αὐτὸς ταύτην περιελών νεοφανῆ καὶ λαμπρὰν ἀπέδει-
 ξεν. Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρὰς πύλας τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου ὁ φιλόκαλος
 Κωνσταντῖνος ἐδείματο καὶ τράπεζαν ἀργυρᾶν ἢ ἐκείνου φιλοπονία κα-
 τεσκεύασε πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν δαιτυμόνων, καλλωπίσας καὶ τὸ Χρυσο-
 τρικλινον ἐκ πολυχρόου μαρμάρου ὕλης, στεφανώσας ἀργυρῷ καὶ τὸ κατὰ
 15 τὸ μέσον κυκλοειδῆς μάρμαρον ρωμαῖον, ὅπερ ὁμφάλιον λέγεται. Πορφυρᾶν
 δὲ φιάλην ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτοῦ ἐδείματο, δοχεῖον τῶν ὑδάτων
 δημιουργήσας, ἣν στύλοισι μὲν μαρμαρίοις περιεκύκλωσε λειότητος αὐ-
 τοῖς ἀπαυγαζούσης. Ἄετὸν δὲ ἐξ ἀργύρου τῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐφίστησιν αὐλῷ
 οὐκ ὀρθὸν βλέποντα ἄλλ' ἀπεστραμμένον κατὰ πλάγιον ὑψαυχενούοντα καὶ

from the time of his proclamation the wealthy, who were insinuating themselves and buying or being given or gaining control of lands or fields or villages, should be driven out without compensation, and he restrained for the poor a little of this insolent treatment and greed. But neither was he averse to judging the disputes and pleas and contentions of those coming forward, but he did not hesitate to render judgments, sometimes himself, sometime with [other] judges, as the people stood at his tribunal. As a result, schooled by fear before the decision, each party to the trial became of their own accord the judge of the wrongdoer.¹⁷

- 8 (Cf. TheophCont 449–451: 18–24, 451–452: 26–27) The same God-loving Constantine, when he also saw the stable for the wretched horses of the patriarch Theophylaktos, which was near the Great Church of God,¹⁸ judged it unjust that it serve as a dwelling for animals, and so he turned it into a home for the elderly and decreed that those there receive annually a supply of food and clothing. Also the same emperor, when he saw that the hospital of the saint was very small, furnished it with very large buildings and decreed that unstinting supplies be provided for them¹⁹ and left to future generations an eternal memorial. Observing²⁰ too the gilded roof of the [hall of] the Nineteen Couches weakened and falling down, he removed it and rendered it new and radiant. But the beauty-loving Constantine also constructed the silver doors of the Chrysotriklinos and his industriousness created a silver table for the reception of the guests, and after he beautified the Chrysotriklinos with material of many-coloured marble he also encircled with silver the central circular Roman marble²¹ [slab] that is called the *omphalion*.²² He built an enclosed porphyry basin²³ in front of his chamber, creating a receptacle for water, which he surrounded with marble columns of gleaming smoothness. He set up a silver eagle on the water pipe, not looking straight ahead but turned sideways with neck raised and haughty as if from some

17 Theophanes Continuatus [448:8 ff.] makes this following result clearer by first noting Constantine's great ability to detect falsehood in even the most cleverly worded statements. On the problematic attribution of the same result to the prefect Sisinius in Theophanes Continuatus [470:12–13] see Laiou 1994, 172.

18 i.e. St Sophia.

19 Presumably the residents.

20 For a translation of the following passage as it appears in Theophanes Continuatus see Mango 1986, 208.

21 i.e. porphyry.

22 Circular marble slabs fitted into a design on a floor.

23 Here *φιάλη*, while Theophanes Continuatus [451:4] calls it a *φύλακχί*, a "guardhouse."

20 σεσοβαρευμένον ὡς ἀπό τινος θήρας, ὄφιν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ περιειληθέντα |
καὶ πνίγοντα. Τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἱερείας παλάτια ὁ αὐτὸς ἐδείματο ἠδέα καὶ
τερπνὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὀρώμενα. Ἐκτισε δὲ καὶ ἕτερα εἰς βασιλίδας παλάτια
ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἱερείας σχήματι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πλησίον τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων
ναὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεουργήθη, ὃς ἐστι κεκολλημένος τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἁγίου
25 καὶ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, Θεόδωρον τὸν Βελονᾶν ποιήσας πατρίκιον
ὡς συνεργὸν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς γενόμενον τοῦ τοιοῦτου λαμπροτάτου ναοῦ.

94

9 Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι οἱ τὰ ἐσπέρια οἰκοῦντες Λογγιβάρδοι,
Καλαυροὶ καὶ Νεαπολίται ἐστασίασαν καὶ τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ζεύγλης τοὺς
δεσμοὺς διέρρηξαν, ἀπέστειλε κατ' αὐτῶν στρατηγικὴν δύναμιν προβαλ-
λόμενος ἀρχηγὸν αὐτῶν πατρίκιον Μαρριανὸν τὸν Ἀργυρόν, ὃς διὰ τε
5 γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καταπολεμήσας αὐτοὺς πάλιν ὑποφόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ
ἐποίησεν.

10 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠγάγετο γυναῖκα ὠραίαν τῷ εἴδει Ρωμανῷ τῷ
υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀναστασίαν τὴν τοῦ Κρατεροῦ θυγατέρα τὴν μετονομασθεῖσαν
παρὰ τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτῆς Θεοφανῶ, τῆς νυμφικῆς παστάδος γεναμένης
ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ τρικλίνῳ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ Ρινοτμήτου. Ἡ δὲ αὐγοῦστα
5 Ἑλένη νόσῳ τρυχομένη καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστῳ χρόνῳ κλινήρης κατακειμένη
ἤξιον τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντίνον δωρήσασθαι προάστεια καὶ χρυσόβου-
λα καὶ ἐξόδους εἰς τὰ νεωστὶ παρ' αὐτῆς κατασκευασθέντα εἰς τὸ Πα-
λαιὸν Πετρίον, τὸν τε ξενῶνα καὶ τὸ γηροκομεῖον, ἅτινα μετὰ χαρᾶς ὁ
Πορφυρογέννητος ἐξεπλήρου. Ἐχαιρε δὲ ἡ αὐγοῦστα Ἑλένη ὀρώσα Ρω-
10 μανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς βασιλέα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς συνοῦσας καὶ
σνευφρανομένας αὐτῇ.

11 Ὁ δὲ Πορφυρογέννητος εἰδὼς ὅτι Βάρδας ὁ μάγιστρος καὶ δομέ-
στικός τῶν σχολῶν ὁ Φωκᾶς εἰς γῆρας ἤλασε καὶ ἀδυνάτως ἔχει, τοῦ
δομεστικάτου μεθίστησι καὶ προβάλλεται δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν τῆς
Ἀνατολῆς Νικηφόρον πατρίκιον καὶ στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, τὸν

catch, and choking a snake caught in its talons. | He built the Palaces of the Hierieia sweet and delightful as seen by all. He made other palaces for the empresses in the manner of the Hierieia. Moreover also the church near the Holy Apostles was newly built by him; it is connected with the sepulchre of saint Constantine the Great.²⁴ He made Theodore Belonas a *patrikios*, since the man shared with him the work of construction of such a most radiant church.

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- 9 (Cf. TheophCont 453–454: 30) When the emperor learned that the Lombards living in the West [and] the Calabrians and Neapolitans had revolted and broken the bonds of the Roman yoke strap, he dispatched against them a strategic force designating as their commander Marianos Argyros, who made war on land and sea and rendered them again tributary subjects to the emperor.
- 10 (Cf. TheophCont 458: 39) To his son, Romanos, the emperor married Anastasia, the daughter of Krateros, a woman of beautiful appearance, who was renamed Theophano by her father-in-law; the wedding ceremony took place in the very great *triklinos* of Justinian (II) the Rhinotmetos. The *augousta* Helena, who was worn out with disease and had lain bedridden for a very long time, asked the emperor Constantine to grant estates and chrysobulls and expenses for the [institutions] recently constructed by her in the Old Petron, the hostel and the home for the elderly,²⁵ which request the Porphyrogennetos fulfilled with joy. The *augousta* Helena rejoiced seeing her son Romanos an emperor and her daughters being present and rejoicing with her.
- 11 (Cf. TheophCont 459–460: 41) The Porphyrogennetos, knowing that Bardas Phokas the *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai* had reached old age and was not capable, discharged him from the domesticcate²⁶ and appointed as *domestikos* of the *scholai* of the East²⁷ Nikephoros, *patrikios* and *strategos* of

24 This last comment is not found in Theophanes Continuatus; on the church see Janin 1969, 48.

25 See Janin 1964, 355; Janin 1969, 554.

26 Presumably in 955, see Canard 1951, 763.

27 The office of *domestikos* was not divided into East and West until the reign of Romanos II, presumably in the spring of 960 (see Cheynet 1986, 302), so this appears to have an anachronistic quality.

5 γνήσιον υἰὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Βάρδα, ἄνδρα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις πολέμοις
 εὐδοκίμησαντα καὶ ἄριστον ἀναφανέντα, καίπερ τοῦ Νικηφόρου δεομέ-
 νου μὴ γενέσθαι διαδόχου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἦν θάμβος ἰδεῖν καὶ
 ἔκπληξις τοῖς ὀρώσι τὸν Νικηφόρον τὰς παρατάξεις καὶ δυνάμεις τοῦ
 10 ἀθέου Χαμβδᾶ συγκόπτοντα καὶ τὰς χώρας καὶ τὰς κώμας τῶν Ἀγαρη-
 νῶν πυρὶ κατατεφροῦντα καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἄγοντα καὶ ὑποσπόνδους τῷ
 βασιλεῖ Ρωμαίων ποιοῦντα. Εἰς δὲ τὸ θέμα τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ |
 στρατηγὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς προεχειρίσατο τὸν πατρίκιον Λέοντα, τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικηφόρου, ἄνδρα ἄριστον, προβάλλεται δὲ καὶ ἔπαρχον τῆς
 πόλεως Θεόδωρον πατρίκιον τὸν Βελονᾶν, ἄνδρα ἰκανὸν καὶ λόγιον καὶ
 15 περὶ τοὺς νόμους πολυπειρίαν καὶ εὐφυῖαν ἔχοντα.

95

12 Τὸν δὲ πατρίκιον καὶ παρακοιμώμενον Βασίλειον ὁ Πορφυρο-
 γέννητος ἀποστέλλει μετὰ ἐκστρατείας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ πολλῆς ἐξο-
 πλίσεως κατὰ τοῦ ἐξάρχου τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν Χαμβδᾶ, ὃς ἀπάρας ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Βυζαντίου καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
 5 πρῶτα μὲν πόλιν πορθεῖ Σαμόσσατα, Σύροις πάλαι κατακισμένην καὶ
 πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Εὐφράτου παρακειμένην δυσπόροθητον καὶ πολυάνθρω-
 πον καὶ πλούτῳ πολλῷ βρίθουσαν. Ἐπειτα καὶ κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἐχώρει· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇ συντρόφῳ ἀλαζονίᾳ ἐπαιρόμενοι, τῷ ρωμαϊκῷ
 στρατῷ συνεπλάκησαν καὶ μηδὲ τὴν πρώτην αὐτῶν ὀρμὴν ἐνεγκόντες,
 10 εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέποντο καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτὸν, ὅπως ἕκαστος δύναιτο, ἠγωνί-
 ζοντο. Τότε (σκυλεύονται μὲν) οἱ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν νεκροί, δεσμούνται
 δὲ καὶ οἱ (ζωγρηθέντες) καὶ λαφύρων πολλὴ γίνεται συναγωγὴ. Καὶ
 ἅπαντα τὸ κοινὸν θέατρον καὶ ὁ θρίαμβος τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου ὑπεδέξατο.

13 Τῶν δὲ Τούρκων ἐκστρατεῖαν ποιησάντων κατὰ Ρωμαίων καὶ
 καταδραμόντων μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῆ ἑορτῆ τοῦ Πάσχα καὶ ληισαμένων
 πᾶσαν Θρακίαν γῆν, ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθύς τὸν πατρίκιον Πόθον καὶ δομέ-
 στικον τῶν ἐξκουβίτων τὸν Ἀργυρὸν μετὰ πλείστου λαοῦ κατὰ πόδας
 5 αὐτῶν ἐξαπέστειλεν, οἱ νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς Τούρκοις, κατεπολέμη-
 σαν καὶ κατέσφαξαν αὐτούς, λαβόντες τὴν τε πραιδίαν καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλω-
 σίαν.

the Anatolikon, the legitimate²⁸ son of the same Bardas, a man distinguished in many different wars and shown to be the best, although Nikephoros asked not to be the successor of his father.²⁹ It was astonishing to see and amazing to those who watched Nikephoros thrashing the battle lines and forces of the godless Chambdan and with fire burning to ashes the districts and villages of the Hagarenes and taking prisoners and making them tributary subjects of the emperor of the Romans. In his place as *strategos* for the theme of the Anatolikon | the emperor appointed the *patrikios* Leo, the brother of the same Nikephoros, an excellent man, and designated as eparch of the City the *patrikios* Theodore Belonas, a competent and educated man with great experience and a natural disposition for the laws.

95

- 12 (Cf. TheophCont 461–462: 44) The Porphyrogennetos dispatched the *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos* Basil³⁰ with an expedition and forces and great armament against the *exarch* of the Hagarenes Chambdan; setting out from Byzantium and coming to the lands of the deniers of Christ, he first besieged the city of Samosata, a city long ago settled by Syrians and situated on the bank of the Euphrates, hard to besiege, with many inhabitants and laden with much wealth. Then indeed he went against the barbarians; the barbarians, elated with their natural swagger, were engaged with the Roman army and, unable to endure their first assault, turned to flight and each strove to save himself as best he could. Then the corpses of the Hagarenes [were stripped] and the [captives] bound and much booty collected.³¹ The common theatre and the triumph of the Hippodrome received it all.
- 13 (Cf. TheophCont 462–463: 47) When the Turks³² made an expedition against the Romans, came rampaging as far as the City on the feast of Easter and plundering all the Thracian land, the emperor immediately dispatched the *patrikios* and *domestikos* of the *exkoubitoi* Pothos Argyros with a very large host on their tracks; they fell upon the Turks at night, attacked and slaughtered them, taking booty and captives.

28 As Markopoulos 1979, 106 n. 11/1–6 notes, this implies Bardas had illegitimate sons. Notably Theophanes Continuatus in the related passage uses “dearest” rather than “legitimate.”

29 This comment is not found in the other sources. For a very different view of Nikephoros’s acceptance of the domesticat see Michael Psellos, *Historia Syntomos* (Aerts 1990, 97).

30 Basil Lekapenos.

31 Samosata was taken in 958.

32 Here as often Turks = Magyars.

14 Περὶ δὲ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐτρέφετο ἔφεςσις καὶ πόθος τῷ ἄνακτι τοῦ
 τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ὀλυμπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀσκητὰς χάριν εὐχῆς ἐπόψεσθαι.
 Ὑπέσμυχε γὰρ αὐτῷ νόσος κρυφία, δι' ἣν καὶ ἱατρικαῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἔκ-
 δοτος ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἐξελεύσεως εἶχε τὴν ἔφεσιν.
 5 Καὶ αὐτίκα δρόμωνος ἐπιβάς πρὸς τῆ χώρα τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἐπεφοῖτα,
 ἥτις καὶ Πραίνετος παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐπονομάζεται. Ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς
 Νίκαιαν ἐφίσταται πόλιν ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εἰς φροντιστήριον μοναχῶν πρὸς
 τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ ὄρους κείμενον ἀφίκετο, κλήσει τιμώμενον τοῦ ἐκεῖσε |
 δοξαζομένου μάρτυρος Ἀθηνογένους. Ὁ δὲ τῆς μονῆς προεστώς, ᾧ Πέ-
 10 τρος τὸ ὄνομα, διὰ κινναβάρεως τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γράμματα τῷ ἄνακτι
 ὑπέδειξε· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι Λέων ὁ εὐσεβῆς βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖσε διερχόμενος καὶ
 τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος πρὸς τὰς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἀκρωρείας αἰτήσεως
 χάριν τοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτῷ υἱὸν διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας, ὁ προρρηθεὶς ἡγού-
 15 μενος τῆς μονῆς Πέτρος προέφησεν αὐτὸν υἱὸν γεννησάι διάδοχον τῆς
 βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μέλλει ἐξελθεῖν ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ εἰς τὰ τέλη
 τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ. Τὴν δὲ γραφὴν ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος οἰκειόχειρον γνωρί-
 σσας τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πατρὸς, ἀληθῆ ἔφησεν εἶναι τὴν πρόρρησιν τοῦ μοναχοῦ.
 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μονῆς ταύτης εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Ὀλύμπου γίνε-
 20 ἀπὸ τινων Μυσῶν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς οἰκησάντων ἐκεῖ. Καὶ τὰς κέλλας τῶν
 ἱερῶν πατέρων καταλαβῶν, ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατασπασάμενος καὶ τὰς
 τούτων ψυχωφελεῖς εὐχὰς ἐφόδιον λαβῶν, ἤκουσε παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ
 κορυφῇ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἀσκητὴν τινα εἶναι σημειοφόρον γέροντα ἐν σπη-
 25 ἐπιλάμπει ἐμφανισθεὶς καὶ τῆς κέλλης αὐτοῦ ἐξελθὼν πρὸς ὑπάντησιν
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπήει καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ γεγονῶς θεοφιλῶς προσηγόρευ-
 σεν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκ θείας ἐπιφανείας καὶ ἀποστολῆς τὸν γέροντα
 πληροφορηθεὶς ἀφικέσθαι καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ εὐχὰς ἐφόδιον λαβῶν καὶ τὴν
 30 ὁσονοῦπω τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ μετάστασιν μαθὼν πρὸς τὰς κέλλας τῶν ἱερῶν
 πατέρων ὑπενόστησεν καὶ συνεστιαθεὶς αὐτοῖς τὸ τάχος πρὸς τὴν θά-
 λασσαν κατήλθε καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐλάνθανεν ὡς εἶη νοσῶν. Ἐνδον δὲ

- 14 (TheophCont 463–466: 49–50, 467–468: 53) Toward the end a desire and passion grew in the emperor to look upon Mount Olympos³³ and the ascetics on it for their prayers. For a mysterious disease was slowly consuming him, on account of which he had recourse to medical attention and had the desire to go to Olympos. Immediately embarking on a *dromon* he travelled to the land of Bithynians that is also called Prainetos³⁴ by the local inhabitants. Thence he continued to the city of Nicaea and from there went to the monastery of monks lying in the foothills of the mountain, the one honoured with the name | of the martyr Athenogenes who is commemorated there. The head of the monastery, named Peter,³⁵ showed the ruler letters of his father [Leo VI] [written] in cinnabar.³⁶ For they say that Leo the pious emperor went there and made the journey to the peaks of Olympos to ask that a son be granted to him as successor to the Empire, [and] the aforementioned *hegemon* of the monastery Peter predicted that he would father a son as successor to his empire and that he [the son] was going to go to Olympos toward the end of his life. The Porphyrogennetos realized the writing was quite genuinely that of his father himself, and said the prophecy of the monk was true. From this monastery he went to the rest of the foothills of Olympos, that Olympos which the texts from antiquity hand down as the mountain of the Mysians, from some Mysians who lived there from the beginning. On reaching the cells of the holy fathers, seeing and embracing them and receiving their spiritually beneficial prayers as a viaticum, he [Constantine VII] heard from them that on the peak of Olympos there was an ascetic,³⁷ a miracle-working old man in a cave and through difficult terrain he went to him. The old man appeared amid a divine light and coming from his cell he went out to meet the emperor, and standing near him he greeted him in a God-loving manner. The emperor, convinced by the divine and apostolic illumination that the elder was coming, received his prayers as a viaticum and, learning that his departure from life was imminent, went back to the cells of the holy fathers and after a meal with them he went quickly down to the sea; how ill he was escaped the notice of most people. However he

33 On Bithynian Olympos and its monasteries see *ODB* 3:1525.

34 Modern Karamürsel, see above Theophanes Continuatus [464:6] with n. 158.

35 The version in Theophanes Continuatus [464:12] does not give a name for the *hegemon* during Leo VI's visit (see *PmbZ* Anon. #31411) and he is apparently not the same person as the Peter during Constantine VII's visit. Given the time span between the death of Leo VI (912) and that of Constantine VII (959), the author of this text is apparently in error here.

36 The colour reserved for imperial documents.

37 *PmbZ* Anon. #31412.

- κατεδαπανάτο καὶ κατηνάλωτο ὑπὸ τε τοῦ κοιλιακοῦ νοσήματος καὶ τοῦ πυρετοῦ. Καὶ δὴ καταλαβὼν τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν Ῥωμαγνὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορα ἀνέδειξεν, ὀρκώσας Ἰωσήφ πατρίκιον καὶ πραιπό-
 35 σιτον τοῦ διαφυλάξαι αὐτὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐντρεχείᾳ καὶ φρονήσει. Τελευτή-
 σαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατετέθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀπο-
 στόλων, Βασιλείου πατρικίου καὶ παρακοιμωμένου, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ, τοῦτο
 ἐνταφιάσαντος. Ἐζήσῃ δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔτη πενήκοντα πέντε.
- 15 Ῥωμαγνὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου, καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πα-
 τρός αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν εἰκοσιδύο, βασιλεύει ἔτη τρία, σὺν Βασιλείῳ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ
 ἐνιαυσίῳ ὄντι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἐλένη τῇ καὶ Θεοφανῶ τῇ συνεύνῳ
 αὐτοῦ μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος τρίτης. Καὶ παρευθὺς τοὺς κοιτωνίτας καὶ | 97
 5 ἀνθρώπους τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πατρικίους καὶ πρωτοσπαθαρίους ποιήσας
 καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἀξιώμασιν ὑπερβιβάσας καὶ δώροις καταπλουτίσας τῶν
 βασιλικῶν δόμων τοῦ παλατίου κατήγαγεν, ἐξελέξατο δὲ καὶ προέκρινε
 παραδυναστεύοντας καὶ πρώτους τῆς Συγκλήτου Ἰωσήφ πατρίκιον,
 πραιπόσιτον καὶ δρουγγάριον τῶν πλωίμων, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον (Βρίγγαν),
 10 ὄντινα καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ παρακοιμώμενον προανεβίβασε καὶ πάσαν ἐξου-
 σίαν καὶ φροντίδα τοῦ ὑπηκόου ἀνέθηκε. Καὶ τὸν (πρωτοσπαθάριον) Σι-
 σίνιον, τὸν ἀπὸ σακελλίου, ἔπαρχον τῆς πόλεως ἐχειροτόνησεν, ἀνδρα
 λόγιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιτήδειον, ὄντινα καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ πατρίκιον
 καὶ γενικὸν λογοθέτην προεστήσατο, καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔπαρχον τῆς πόλεως
 15 Θεόδωρον τὸν ἀπὸ στρατιωτικῶν τὸν λεγόμενον Δαφνοπάτην ἐποίησε.
 Ὅστις Σισίνιος τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ διέπρεψεν εὐνομίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. Τὰς δὲ
 ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ Ζωὴν καὶ Θεοδώραν καὶ Ἀγάθην καὶ Θεοφανῶ καὶ Ἄν-
 ναν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν δόμων εἰς τὰ Κανικλείου κατήγαγεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ
 Σοφία ἡ αὐγοῦστα, ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοφόρου σύνευνος, ἦν ἀποκε-
 20 καρμένη μοναχῇ, καὶ μοναχὰς ἀπέκειρε, πολλὰ τῆς αὐγοῦστης Ἐλένης
 τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ, κλινήρους οὔσης, ἀπολοφυρομένης καὶ
 αὐτῶν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιφυομένων τῆς ἰδίας μητρὸς καὶ τὴν κλίνην περι-
 ελκουσῶν καὶ τῇ χειρὶ παραλλήλως σφιγγουσῶν. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν πλεόν ἦνυ-
 σαν ἢ τὸ εἰς κενὸν ἀποκλαίεσθαι. Πάλιν δὲ αὐτὰς μετὰ δίππευσίν τινων
 25 ἡμερῶν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ταύτας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μετέθηκε. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ζωὴν
 καὶ Θεοδώραν καὶ Θεοφανῶ εἰς τὰ Ἀντιόχου ἐκλήρωσε· τὴν δὲ Ἀγά-

was consumed within and wasted away by the intestinal disease and the fever. Indeed on reaching Constantinople he proclaimed his son Romanos sovereign and bound Joseph,³⁸ the *patrikios* and *praipositos*, under oath to guard him carefully, using his intelligence and practical wisdom. When he died his body was interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles,³⁹ with Basil the *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos*, as is the custom, in charge of the burial. He lived in total for fifty-five years.

- 15 (Cf. TheophCont 469–470:1, 471–472:3) Romanos (II) the son of the Porphyrogenetos was left by his father [Constantine VII] in the month of November of the third indiction at the age of twenty-two, with his son Basil who was one year old and with his mother Helena and his wife Theophano; he ruled for three years. And forthwith after he made the *koitonitai* | and his father's men *patrikioi* and *protospatharioi* and elevated them with other dignities and lavished gifts upon them, he removed them from the imperial buildings of the Palace. He singled out and preferred as the *paradynasteuontes* and the leading men of the senate: Joseph the *patrikios*, *praipositos* and *droungarios* of the fleet, the man surnamed [Bringas], whom not much later he also promoted as *parakoimomenos* and entrusted with all authority and concern for his subjects. The [*protospatharios*] Sisinius, the *sakellarios*, he appointed as eparch of the City, a learned man suited to the common good whom after a short time he also put forward as *patrikios* and logothete of the *genikon*, and in his place he made eparch of the City Theodore from the military ranks,⁴⁰ called Daphnopates. This Sisinius distinguished the prefecture with adherence to the law and justice.

97

He [Romanos II] removed from the imperial buildings his sisters Zoe and Theodora and Agatha and Theophano and Anna to the monastery of Kanikleiou, where the *augousta* Sophia, the wife of the emperor Christopher [Lekapenos], was a tonsured nun, and he had them tonsured as nuns, although the *augousta* Helena, Romanos's mother, who was bedridden, cried loudly against it, and they clung to their mother's neck and drew around her bed and clung to each other with their hands. But they accomplished nothing more than vain weeping. Again after a lapse of some days the sovereign removed them from there. And Zoe and Theodora and Theophano he assigned to the monastery of Antiochus, and Agatha he sent to

38 Joseph Bringas.

39 See Grierson 1962, 22.

40 Apparently he had been *logothetes tou stratiotikou* with fiscal responsibilities. On the office see *ODB* 2:1248.

θην εἰς τὸ ἰδρυθὲν παρὰ Ρωμανοῦ μοναστήριον, ὃ Μυρέλαιον λέγεται, ἐξαπέστειλε, διορισάμενος χορηγεῖσθαι αὐταῖς ὅσα καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατιῷ κατὰ τύπον ἐλάμβανον.

- 16 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ρωμανὸς καὶ ἕτερον υἱὸν μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπεγέννησε, Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ τοῦτον ὀνομάσας, καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ στέφεται ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας παρὰ Πολυεύκτου πατριάρχου.
- 17 Τὸν δὲ Νικηφόρον, τὸν υἱὸν Βάρδα τοῦ Φωκά, μάγιστρον καὶ τῶν σχολῶν ἐτίμησε καὶ κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐφ᾽ ἐξέπεμψε· τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πατρικίον Λέοντα στρατηγὸν προεβέβαλετο, ὄντινα καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον τῶν
5 σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως ἐποίησε. Καὶ τὴν φροντίδα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῖς αὐτα- | δέλφοις καταπιστεύσας, αὐτὸς ἔχαιρε καὶ ἡγαλλιάτο μετὰ τῶν ὀμηλικῶν ἐν παιδῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίαις ἔξω τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀναστρεφόμενος.
- 18 Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸν μάγιστρον Νικηφόρον καὶ δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν τὸν τοῦ Φωκά μετὰ ἐκστρατείας καὶ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ ἐξοπλίσας πλοίων πολεμικῶν καὶ ὑγροῦ πυρὸς εἰς τὴν Κρήτην διωρίσατο ἀπελθεῖν. Οἱ γὰρ Κρήτες πολλὰ δεινὰ καὶ συνεχεῖς αἰχμαλωσίας καθ' ἑκάστην εἰς
5 τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐποιοῦντο γῆν, ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου τὴν εἰρημένην νήσον πορθήσαντες ἐκείσε κατόκησαν. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀμορίου τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοφίλου ταύτης ἐγένοντο ἐγκρατεῖς, ἀσχολουμένου τοῦ Μιχαὴλ καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων εἰς τὴν στάσιν καὶ τυραννίδα τοῦ Μωροθωμά, τοῦ συντρόφου τοῦ Μιχαὴλ—καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τρισὶ χρόνοις σχεδὸν
10 καὶ πλεῖον τῆς θρακικῆς καὶ μακεδονικῆς χώρας ἐκράτησεν ὁ τύραννος— καὶ εὐκαιρίαν εὐρόντες οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰσπανίας ἀνελθόντες Σαρακηνοὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ στόλου πλοίων πολεμικῶν τῆς τοιαύτης νήσου κατεκυρίευσαν, ὡς εἶναι τὴν τούτων διακράτησιν καὶ κατάσχεσιν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἐπορθήθη ἡ Κρήτη παρὰ τοῦ μαγίστρου καὶ δομεστικοῦ Νικηφόρου, ἕτη ἑκα-
15 τὸν πεντήκοντα ὀκτώ. Φήμη δὲ διέτρεχεν ὅτι δι' οὗ ἡ Κρήτη πορθηθῆ, οὗτος βασιλεύσει καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα κατέξει τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, τῇ συμβουλῇ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου Ἰωσήφ, πάντα τῷ θεῷ ἀνα-

the monastery founded by Romanos (I), which is called Myrelaion, declaring that they be provided whatever they received as prescribed in the Palace.

- 16 (Cf. TheophCont 473: 6) The emperor Romanos also fathered another son after the death of his father, and named him also Constantine (VIII) and not much later he was crowned in the ambo of the Great Church by Polyuktos the patriarch.
- 17 (Cf. TheophCont 472: 4) [Romanos] honoured Nikephoros, the son of Bardas Phokas, as *magistros* and [*domestikos*]⁴¹ of the *scholai* and sent him off against the Christ-denying Hagarenes in the East. His brother, the *patrikios* Leo, he designated as *strategos*, and not much later made him *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai* of the West. After entrusting care of the army to the | brothers, he rejoiced and revelled, engaging with his young mates in amusements and hunting outside Byzantium. 98
- 18 (Cf. TheophCont 473–475: 7–9) Not much later he ordered Nikephoros the *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai*, the son of [Bardas] Phokas, to depart for Crete with an expedition and great forces and armaments⁴² of warships and liquid fire. For the Cretans were perpetrating many terrible acts against the land of the Romans and constantly took captives each day from the time they besieged the aforementioned island and settled there. For in the time of Michael (II) the Amorian, the father of Theophilos, they took control of it, when Michael and the armies were occupied against the revolt and usurpation of Morothomas,⁴³ Michael's brother [-in-arms]. Indeed for nearly three years and more the usurper controlled the Thracian and Macedonian lands. And finding an opportune time the Saracens from Hispania came with a great fleet of warships and gained dominion over this great island, so that it was their possession and area of control for 158 years,⁴⁴ until the day when Crete was besieged by the *magistros* and *domestikos* Nikephoros. The rumour was circulating that the man by whom Crete was besieged would become emperor and hold the sceptre of the Roman Empire. The emperor, on the advice of the *parakoimomenos* Joseph [Bringas], ded-

41 Supplied from Theophanes Continuatus [472:3].

42 Reading ἐξοπλισεως with Theophanes Continuatus [473:21].

43 "Foolish Thomas" or Thomas the Slav.

44 The number, which also appears in Theophanes Continuatus and Pseudo-Symeon, is an error for 138. The initial arrival of the Arabs in Crete is to be dated to about 823–825 and Michael became emperor in 823.

θείς, ἐξοπλίσας καὶ ρογεύσας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τῷ μαγίστρῳ χρήματα δοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως ἀπεκίνησε μετὰ τοῦ κοιτωνίτου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἐπιστάτου, μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ Ἰνδικτιῶνος πέμπτης.

19 Καὶ δὴ ὁ δομέστικος ἐν ὀλίγῳ κατέλαβεν ἐν Φυγέλοις τῶν Θρα-
κησίων καὶ εὐθέως ταχυδρόμωνας γαλαίας ἀποστείλας κατεσκόπησε τὴν
Κρήτην· καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μαθὼν ὅτι ὁ τῆς Κρήτης ἀμηράς ὁ Κουρουπάς
καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ κάστρου ἔξω εἰσὶν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία προάστεια, εὐθὺς δρό-
5 μω καὶ σπουδῇ κατέλαβε τὴν Κρήτην. Καὶ τῶν νηῶν (ἀποβάς) τάφρον
βαθεῖαν κατεσκεύασε καὶ πρὸς κούρσον τὸν λαὸν προετρέψατο. Μαθὼν
τὴν δύναμιν τῶν κρητικῶν, περιβαλὼν δὲ χάρακα τῷ κάστρῳ ἤρξατο
τοῦ πολιορκεῖν, ἀρξαμένων τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν αὐτομολεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν μά-
γιστρον. Χρονιζούσης δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας, τὸ στράτευμα ἤρξατο ὑστερεῖ-
10 σθαι σιτίων. Καὶ δὴ μαθὼν τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς προετρέψατο Ἰωσήφ παρα-
κοιμώμενον καὶ παρευθὺ τὰ πρὸς χορηγίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλεν.

20 Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Λέων καὶ δομέστικος τῆς Δύσεως, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ
μαγίστρου Νικηφόρου, ἐπέμφθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἑῶαν ἀντι- |
προσωπῶν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρεῖν τὸν ἄθεον Χαμβδᾶν ἀσκέ-
παστον τὴν Ἀνατολήν καὶ πραιδεῦσαι καὶ αἰχμαλωτίσαι αὐτήν. Καὶ
5 δὴ ὁ πατρίκιος Λέων τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ Καππαδοκίας τῷ
Μαλεῖνῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐνωθεὶς καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι ὁ Χαμβδᾶς
ἐξῆλθε κατὰ Ρωμαίων κουρσεύων καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζων ἀφειδῶς, ἐπισυ-
νάξας τὸν ἅπαντα λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε τὴν κλεισοῦραν τὴν οὕτω καλου-
μένην Κύλινδρον. Ὑποστρέψαντος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ ἀλαζόνος
10 Χαμβδᾶ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ κλεισοῦρᾳ εἰσελθόντος πολέμου κροτηθέντος
ἠττήθησαν οἱ Ἀγαρηνοί. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀναιρουμένους καὶ τοὺς
νεκροὺς σκυλευομένους· μικροῦ δὲ δεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ὁ Χαμβδᾶς ἐκρατήθη.
Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κρατηθέντα λάφυρα μετὰ καὶ τῶν ζωγρη-
θέντων ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ (εἰς) τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀπηνέγκατο καὶ ἐν
15 τῷ θριάμβῳ διεβίβασεν.

icating all to God, providing equipment and pay for the army, and giving the *magistros* funds sent him off from the imperial City with the *koitonites* Michael the overseer in the month of July of the fifth indiction.⁴⁵

19 (Cf. TheophCont 475–477: 10–11, 480: 16) Indeed in a short time the *domestikos* reached Phygela of the Thrakesians and immediately dispatched swift-running galleys to conduct reconnaissance on Crete. He learned from them that the emir of Crete, Kouroupas,⁴⁶ and the leading men of the city were outside in their own estates. Straightaway with speed and eagerness he arrived on Crete. Disembarking from the ships he constructed a deep ditch and urged his army on a marauding expedition. After ascertaining the strength of the Cretans, surrounding the city with a palisade he began the siege, as the Hagarenes began to desert to the *magistros*. As the siege went on the army began to run short of grain. Indeed when the emperor learned this he turned to Joseph the *parakoimomenos* and straightaway he dispatched to them the supplies.

20 (Cf. TheophCont 479–480: 14) Leo the *patrikios* and *domestikos* of the West, the brother of the *magistros* Nikephoros, was sent by the emperor to Anatolia in place | of his brother so that the godless Chambdan would not find Anatolia unprotected and plunder and capture it. The *patrikios* Leo, united with the *patrikios* and *strategos* of Cappadocia, Maleinos,⁴⁷ and the other *strategoï*, and learning that Chambdan [had] gone out pillaging the Romans and mercilessly capturing them, gathered all his host and seized control of the *kleisoura*, the so-called Kylindros.⁴⁸ As the braggart Chambdan was returning from his captive-taking expedition and going through this *kleisoura*, a battle was engaged and the Hagarenes defeated.⁴⁹ One could see them being killed and the corpses being stripped; Chambdan himself might almost have been captured. All the booty taken in the battle together with the captive deniers of Christ he [Bardas Phokas] took back to Byzantium and conveyed in a triumph.

99

45 i.e. 960.

46 Abd al-Aziz ibn Shu'ayb.

47 Theophanes Continuatus gives his full name, Constantine Maleinos.

48 Theophanes Continuatus [479:21] gives the name as Andrassos, Skylitzes, *Synopsis* (Romanos II, chap. 4, Thurn 1973, 250) as Adrassos. Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 2.4 (Hase 1828, 22) describes the battle, but does not give a location name.

49 November 8, 960.

- 21 Ὁ δὲ μάγιστρος Νικηφόρος ἐπὶ μῆσιν ὀκτώ καὶ δέκα ἤ καὶ πλέον
 (παρακαθίσας) τὴν Κρήτην καὶ τῶν τροφῶν ***** κρητικοῖς ἐλλειψάντων
 τὸ κάστρον πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κορυφομένου πολλοὶ τῶν κρη-
 τικῶν αὐτόμολοι πρὸς τὸν μάγιστρον ἀφικνοῦντο. Ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς βαρ-
 5 βάροις θάμβους ἐπιπεσόντος καὶ δέους μετὰ βραχὺ τὸ κάστρον παρέλα-
 βε. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς κρητάς συνάμα τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἀμηρᾷ Κουρουπᾷ καὶ
 γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ καὶ λαφύροις ὀδυρομένους καὶ στένοντας καὶ διὰ μέσης
 θριαμβευομένους τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μέχρι τοῦ ἵππικοῦ.
- 22 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ μέγιστα φι-
 λοφρονησάμενος καὶ αὐθὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑψῶν ἐξέπεμψε τοῦ ἐκστρατεῦσαι κατὰ
 τοῦ ἀλαζόνος Χαμβδᾶ. Ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπάρας πρὸς τὰς ὁμόρους
 τῶν βαρβάρων γίνεται χώρας πυρπολῶν καὶ τὰ κάστρα πορθῶν. Ἐπειτα
 5 ὠρμησε μετὰ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων πρὸς τὴν πολυάνθρωπον καὶ
 πλούτῳ βριθουσαν μεγαλόπολιν τὴν καλουμένην Χάλεπ, κατὰ τοῦ ἀθέου
 Χαμβδᾶ. Καὶ δὴ καταλαβὼν τὸ εἰρημένον κάστρον εὔρε περι αὐτὸ μετὰ πλή-
 θους πολλοῦ τὸν Χαμβδᾶν ἀντιπαρατεταγμένον ἤτοι Ἀράβων, Δελεμι-
 τῶν, Κούρτων καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναθροισθέντος,
 10 τῶν πεζῶν καὶ μόνον Χαλεπιτῶν κρατούντων τοὺς δύο πόρους τοῦ ποτα-
 μοῦ καὶ κωλύοντων τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ρωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος. Ὁ δὲ
 Χαμβδᾶς ἐλπῖσι ματαίαις ἀπατῶμενος ἴστατο ἄτρεπτος, ἀγνοῶν ὁ
 δεῖλαιος ὅτι ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ***** πολέμου βοήθεια καὶ τὸ ***** ὥραις |
 τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀναψηλαφήσαντος τοὺς πόρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν θέ-
 15 σιν τοῦ τόπου καλῶς διασκοπούντος εἰς τὸν ἄνω πόρον μόλις ἠδυνήθη
 περάσαι μετὰ τῶν καρβαλλαρικῶν παρατάξεων, τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν ἀπο-
 πλεόντων. Καὶ τότε ἤρξαντο τὰ ἄπειρα πλήθη τῶν πεζῶν τοῦ Χαμβδᾶ
 ξίφεσι συγκόπτειν σφοδρῶς, οὓς συγκοπτομένους ἰδὼν ὁ ἀλαζῶν πρὸς
 φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο καὶ σφάζειν ἑαυτόν, ὅση δυναμὶς, διηγωνίζετο. Καὶ οὕτως

21 (Cf. TheophCont 480–481: 16) The *magistros* Nikephoros, after encamping on Crete for eighteen months⁵⁰ or more and as the Cretans' food supplies ***** were failing, began to attack the city and as the battle was coming to a head many deserters came to the *magistros*. As amazement and fear then assailed the barbarians, [Nikephoros] soon took the city [Chandax]. One could see the Cretans with the emir himself, Kouroupas and wives and children and booty mourning and groaning and paraded through the middle of Constantinople as far as the Hippodrome.⁵¹

22 The emperor received the *magistros* [Nikephoros] and those with him with the greatest kindness and again dispatched him to the East to campaign against the braggart Chambdan. Departing from the queen of cities he came to the borderlands of the barbarians, burning and plundering the cities. Then he set forth with all his forces to the very populous metropolis called Aleppo,⁵² brimming with wealth. Indeed arriving at the aforementioned city he found around it Chambdan drawn up against him with a great multitude indeed of Arabs, Delemites,⁵³ and Kurds⁵⁴ and the remaining people gathered from the countryside, with only the Aleppo infantry controlling the two fords of the river and preventing the Roman army from crossing. Chambdan, deceived by vain hopes, stood unmoving, the wretch not realizing that in the hand ***** of war assistance and the ***** with seasons [?]⁵⁵ |. The *magistros*, reexamining the fords of the river and carefully observing the terrain of the place, was only just able to penetrate to the upper ford with his cavalry formations, the horses themselves sailing. Then they began to vigorously cut down the boundless numbers of the foot soldiers of Chambdan with their swords. When he saw them being cut down, the braggart, turning to flight, was in agony to save himself as best he could. Thus the *magistros*

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50 The siege lasted only eight months (July 960 to March 961); the error is most likely due to a scribal mistake.

51 On the triumph cf. Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 2.8 (Hase 1828, 28–29) and see McCormick 1990, 167–168, with n. 141 refuting Skylitzes's claim that Phokas was not allowed to enter the city.

52 This is the only detailed evidence in the Greek sources for Phokas's sack of Aleppo. See Markopoulos 1979, 113–117 for detailed notes on the chapter and Canard 1951, 809–816 for a reconstruction of the siege based on the Arab sources.

53 The Delemites (also Dailamites, Daylamites) were originally from the highlands south of the Caspian Sea and served as mercenaries in the army of Sayf al-Dawla; see McGeer 1995, 233–236 and Kennedy 2004, 210 ff. and 270. See also below Theodosios the Deacon [301:23] with n. 193.

54 On Kurds in the Hamdanid armies see McGeer 1995, 237–238.

55 The text here is lost due to a lacuna.

- 20 ὁ μάγιστρος τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χάλεπ ἀμαχητὶ παρέλαβε καὶ ἀναλαβόμενος
τοὺς ζωγρηθέντας Ἀγαρηνοὺς καὶ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν λαφύρων συναγωγὴν
πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀναστρέφειν ἔκρινε δεῖν. Μαθῶν δὲ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ
βασιλέως Ρωμανοῦ ἐπεσχέθη τῆς ὁρμῆς· καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ
25 ὄντων ἀρχόντων διωρίσατο συναχθῆναι τοὺς ζωγρηθέντας Ἀγαρηνοὺς
καὶ τὰ λάφυρα εἰς ἓνα χῶρον τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς γῆς.
- 23 Ἐν δὲ τῷ παλατίῳ κατελείφθησαν εὐφημούμενοι ἢ τε Θεοφανῶ
αὐγοῦστα καὶ τὰ δύο αὐτῆς τέκνα, Βασίλειος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, τῇ
σπουδῇ καὶ συνέσει τοῦ παραδυναστεύοντος Ἰωσήφ παρακοιμωμένου τοῦ
τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ διέποντος. Τότε δὴ τότε διὰ γραφῆς αὐτῶν
5 διωρίσαντο καὶ τὸν μάγιστρον Νικηφόρον καὶ δομέστικον ἐν τῇ πόλει
παραγενέσθαι. Ὁ δὲ εἰσελθὼν πάντα τὰ λάφυρα συνάμα καὶ τοῖς αἰχμα-
λώτοις Ἀγαρηνοῖς ἐν τῷ ἵππικῷ ἐθριάμβευσε τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὄχλου
καὶ τοῦ πλήθους συνηθροισμένου. Τότε τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον
τῶν σχολῶν Νικηφόρον οἱ πολῖται “Νικητὴν” ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ πάντες
10 οὕτως ἠγάπησαν τὸν ἀριστεῖα ὡς οἰκειᾶν ψυχὴν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀγίαν ἀνά-
στασιν τῆς ἕκτης ἰνδικτιῶνος καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπράκτων ἡμερῶν διάβασιν,
ὁ μάγιστρος Νικηφόρος πρὸς τὴν Ἀνατολὴν ἀπεστάλη πρὸς ἄμυναν τοῦ
ἄθεου Χαμβδᾶ, ὅπως μὴ ἐξελάσῃ εἰς τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν γῆν ἀναμαθῶν τὸν
θάνατον τοῦ βασιλέως Ρωμανοῦ. Ἀπήτησαν δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἔγγραφον
15 τὸν μάγιστρον Νικηφόρον τοῦ μηδέποτε μελετήσαι αὐτὸν ἐπανάστασιν
κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων· ὃ δὴ καὶ πεποίηκεν. Ὁ δὲ παρακοιμώμενος Ἰωσήφ
τῇ ἐντρεχείᾳ καὶ συνέσει αὐτοῦ διώκει τὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ· συνήδρευον δὲ αὐ-
τῷ Μιχαὴλ μάγιστρος ὁ ραϊκτωρ καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου καὶ Συμεὼν
πατρίκιος καὶ πρωτοασηκρήτις. Τοῦ δὲ μαγίστρου καὶ δομεστικῆς Νικη-
20 φόρου ἐν Καισαρείᾳ καταλαβόντος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀδνουμιάζοντος πρὸς
τὸ χωρῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ ἀλαζόνος Χαμβδᾶ, ὁ πατρίκιος Ἰωάννης ὁ λεγό-
μενος Τζιμισχῆς καὶ ὁ πατρίκιος Ρωμανὸς ὁ τοῦ Κουρκούα καὶ ὁ πατρί-
κιος Νικηφόρος ὁ Ἐξακιονίτης καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ σὺν τοῖς ταγμα-
τικοῖς ἄρχουσι βουλευόνται, ἵνα τὸν μάγιστρον βασιλέα ἀναγορεύσωσι.
25 Καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὸ σκηνοπήγιον αὐτοῦ ἀφικόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ...

took the city of Aleppo without a fight, and taking the Hagarene prisoners and the great gathering of booty, he deemed it necessary to return to Byzantium. After he learned of the death of the emperor Romanos he was held back from [further] action. He gave orders to each of the leaders with him that the Hagarene prisoners and booty be gathered together in one location in Roman territory.

- 23 Left in the Palace honoured with praise were Theophano the *augusta* and her two children, Basil (II) and Constantine (VIII), while the *paradynasteuon parakoimomenos* Joseph [Bringas] with eagerness and intelligence was managing the subjects in justice. Then indeed by letter they ordered the *magistros* and *domestikos* [Nikephoros] to come to the City. On entering he paraded the booty together and the Hagarene prisoners in the Hippodrome of the City after the throng and multitude had gathered. Then the citizens hailed the *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai* Nikephoros as “Victor,” and all so loved the valorous man like their own soul.⁵⁶ After the holy Resurrection of the seventh indiction and the passage of holy days, the *magistros* Nikephoros was dispatched to Anatolia to defend against the godless Chambdan, in order that he not drive out into Roman territory on learning of the death of the emperor Romanos. They demanded written assurance that the *magistros* Nikephoros never contemplate insurrection against the emperors, and he did so. The *parakoimomenos* Joseph with his skill and intelligence was managing the common good. Michael the *magistros*, *rhaiktor*, and logothete of the *dromos*⁵⁷ sat in council with him, as did Symeon,⁵⁸ *patrikios* and *protoasekretis*. When the *magistros* and *domestikos* Nikephoros reached Caesarea and mustered the army to go against the braggart Chambdan, the *patrikios* John called Tzimiskes and the *patrikios* Romanos the son of Kourkouas and the *patrikios* Nikephoros Hexakionites and the remaining *strategoï* with the regiment officers took counsel in order that they might proclaim the *magistros* emperor. And indeed coming to his tent together ...⁵⁹

56 On the triumph see McCormick 1990, 168.

57 On the office see *ODB* 2:1247–1248, “The responsibilities ... included ceremonial duties, protection of the emperor, collection of political information, and general supervision of foreign affairs.”

58 This is the only evidence for Michael and Symeon as the other members of the regency council; see Markopoulos 1979, 118. For the identification of Michael as Michael Lekapenos and Symeon as Symeon the Logothete see the *PmbZ* entries #25174 (pp. 479–480) and #27504 (p. 233).

59 The manuscript breaks off here. The scene is also described by Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 3.4–6 (Hase 1828, 40–44) where only John Tzimiskes is mentioned by name.

[20:19–21:13] Ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ Φωκάς ἦν ἐν Καππαδοκῇ, ὃς πρόπαππος τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα βεβασιλευκότος Νικηφόρου ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, ρωμαλαιότητι σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς γενναιότητι τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν διαφέρων ἀπάντων, δῆλος κατέστη τῷ βασιλεῖ. Ὅν καὶ τουρμάρχην πεποίηκε, Νικηφόρον τε, τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, ἕνα τῶν οἰκείων πεποιηκώς, εἶχε παρ’ ἑαυτῷ, τό τε ἀστεῖον τοῦ νεανίου καὶ τὸ ἐκ πρώτης τριχὸς διαδεικνύμενον παράστημα προορώμενος. Οὓς ἀμφοτέρους εἶχε μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐκστρατείᾳ. Ἦδη δὲ τὸν Νικηφόρον ἀνδρωθέντα καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἐλάσαντα τῷ τοῦ μαγκλαβίτου τετίμηκεν ἀξιώματι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τότε τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνάστημα καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς παράστημα καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως εὐειδὲς καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡθῶν εὐπρεπὲς ἀγαπητὸν τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατεστήσαντο, πρωτοστράτορα τοῦτον προβάλλεται, οἶκόν τε δωρεῖται μέγιστον, ἔγγιστα τῆς πρωτομάρτυρος Θέκλας τυγχάνοντα. Ὅν αὐτὸς τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Βάρδα, τῷ μετὰ

b The Revised Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete: Interpolations on Nikephoros the Elder⁶⁰ from Vat. gr. 153⁶¹

Istrin (1922) 20.19–21.13

In these days⁶² also there was a Phokas in Cappadocia, who happened to be great-grandfather of the Nikephoros who was later emperor,⁶³ a man whose superiority over all his contemporaries in strength of body and nobility of soul was clear to the emperor⁶⁴ who also made him a *tourmarches*,⁶⁵ and Nikephoros his son [Nikephoros Phokas the Elder] whom [the emperor] made one of his intimates⁶⁶ and kept him with him, recognizing the young man's refinement and the courage he displayed from his adolescence. Both these men the emperor had with him in the expedition against the Hagarenes. And he honoured Nikephoros [the Elder], who already had reached manhood and come *to the measure of maturity*,⁶⁷ with the dignity of *manglabites*.⁶⁸

Then after his high level of maturity and courage of soul and handsome appearance and dignity of character rendered the man beloved by the emperor, the emperor appointed him [Nikephoros the Elder] *protostrator*⁶⁹ and gave him a grand house, which was very near the [Church of] the protomartyr Thekla,⁷⁰ and he bestowed [the house]⁷¹ on his son Bardas, the man later

60 On these interpolations dated to the reign of Nikephoros II see Grégoire 1953a and 1953b. In the latter article he comments (14) that while the interpolations were intended to exalt the ancestors of Nikephoros II Phokas and one must be cautious about their historical value, the information on the principal episode of their hero's career is valuable.

61 In George the Monk (1922) ed. Istrin. See Treadgold 2013, 211 n. 51.

62 In 872; see Cheynet 1986, 291.

63 See Treadgold 2013, 206 n. 36 who argues that βεβασιλευκότος ("having been emperor") is probably an alteration of Symeon's text made by a copyist after 969.

64 Basil I.

65 A military commander, subordinate to the *strategos* of a theme; see *ODB* 2100–2101.

66 On the category οἰκεῖος see *ODB* 3:1515.

67 Eph. 4:13.

68 One of the "imperial body guards" who "preceded the emperor at ceremonies and had to unlock certain gates of the Palace every morning"; see *ODB* 2:1284.

69 "Chief of the imperial *stratores*" ... whose "major duty in the 9th and 10th c. was to accompany the emperor while on horseback"; see *ODB* 3:1748–1749.

70 See Janin 1969, 142.

71 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.5 (Hase 1828, 83–84) mentions that Bardas's body on his death in 969 was brought to the house, describing it as on the south side near the harbour of Sophia.

ταῦτα τῆ τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμηθέντι ἀξίᾳ ὑπὸ Νικηφόρου βασιλέως, υἱοῦ μὲν αὐτοῦ, ἐκγόνου δὲ Νικηφόρου, ἀπεχαρίσατο.

Οὗτος τοίνυν καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ προβάλλεται θέματι, καὶ πολλὰς ἀνδραγαθίας κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐνδειξάμενος καὶ διαφανῆς καταστάς ἐκ τῶν πράξεων καὶ μονοστράτηγος τῶν δυτικῶν θεμάτων προβάλλεται, Θράκης, φημί, καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ Κεφαλινίας, Λογγιβαρδίας τε καὶ Καλαβρίας. Οὗτος γὰρ ἰκανώτατός τε καὶ ἀξιόμαχος ἔδοξε πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀφρικῶν ἐπιδρομὴν, | ληίζομένων 21
τε καὶ πορθούντων καὶ τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς περικοπτόντων ἀρχῆς, αὐτὴν τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ Καλαβρίαν καὶ Λογγιβαρδίαν. Πόλεις γὰρ ὅλαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐάλωσαν, ἢ τε Τορεντὸς καὶ Βάρις καὶ ἡ ἁγία Σεβηρίνα καὶ τὸ Ρίγιον καὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον, αἱ Τροπαί τε καὶ ἡ Ἀμάντεια.

Οὗτος οὖν ὁ γενναιότατος, ἐκεῖ κατελθὼν, ὥσπερ τι καρτερώτατον ἔρυμα τὴν τοσαύτην ἐπιφορὰν τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἀνεχαίτισεν. Ἔπειτα περινοίαις τούτους στρατηγικαῖς διαλύσας καὶ πολεμικαῖς παρατάξεισι τροπώσάμενος, τὰς τε πόλεις Ρωμαίοις ἀνέσωσε καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἤγαγε χεῖρα, ὅσα τε κατεβλήθησαν τῶν τειχῶν, ἀνεκαίνισε, καὶ Ρωμαϊκῇ δυνάμει ταῦτα κατοχυρώσας, καὶ πληθὺν Ἀρμενίων ἐνοικίσας αὐτοῖς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους χιλίους ἐν τούτοις κατασκηνώσας, καὶ οὐς ἡ περιφανεστάτη καὶ εὐγενὴς Δανιηλίνα ἐκείνη τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐδωρήσατο, τὴν ἔτι περιλειφθεῖσαν πόλιν ἐπολιόρκει Ἀμάντειαν. Καὶ οὗτος μὲν οὕτως ἐν τοῖς δυτικοῖς διέπρεπε θέμασιν.

[24:23–33] Ὁ δὲ εἰρημένος Νικηφόρος ὁ τοῦ Φωκά, τὴν Ἀμάντειαν καταπολεμῶν καὶ μέλλων ἤδη ταύτην ἐκπορθεῖν, κέλευσιν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδέξατο Λέοντος, τὸν θάνατον Βασιλείου καταγγέλλουσα[ν] καὶ τὴν ἀναδρομὴν ἐγκελεύουσα[ν]. Τὸν θάνατον οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναμαθῶν, καθ' ἑαυτὸν περιέκρυβεν, ὥστε μὴ ἀπάπτυστον τοῖς Ἀγαρηνοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι, ὄρκω οὖν τούτους βεβαιωσάμενος, ὡς, εἰ παραδοῖεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, ἐλευθέρους ἀφήσειν αὐτούς, ὅπου ἂν βούλοιντο, πορευθῆναι. Καὶ σταυρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πόλεως πηξάμενος πρὸς πλείονα τούτων πληροφορίαν, ἔπεισεν αὐτούς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολιπεῖν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον ἐν Ἀφρικῇ, οἱ δὲ Λογγιβαρδία καὶ Καλαβρία. Ἀνελθόντα δὲ τὸν Νικηφόρον ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀσμενέστατα ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ διὰ πάσης ἤγε τιμῆς.

honoured with the dignity of caesar by the emperor Nikephoros (II), the son of Bardas, who was the offspring of Nikephoros [the Elder].

This man [Nikephoros the Elder] therefore was also appointed *strategos* of the theme of Charsianon and, after displaying many acts of courage against the Hagarenes and becoming conspicuous from his deeds, was also designated *monostrategos* of the Western themes, I mean of Thrace, Macedonia, and Kephalinia, and Longibardia and Calabria. For he seemed most competent and a match in battle against the incursion of the Africans, | who were plundering and sacking and laying waste the Roman empire, and Sicily itself, and Calabria, and Longibardia. For all the cities were captured by them, Tarentum, and Bari, and Saint Severina, and Rhegion, and Tauromina, and Tropai and Amantea. 21

When this most noble man arrived as a most staunch defence, he checked the great attack of the Hagarenes. Then, after dispersing them with strategic intelligence and defeating them with military battle formations, he preserved the cities for the Romans and brought them under [Roman] control, and renewed whatever walls had fallen. After fortifying these with Roman power, he settled a multitude of Armenians in them; moreover he planted in them a thousand slaves, indeed those whom that most famous and noble Danielis⁷² gave to the emperor [Basil I], and he was besieging the still remaining city of Amantea. He thus distinguished himself in the Western themes.

Istrin (1922) 24.23–33

The aforementioned Nikephoros [the Elder] the son of Phokas was attacking Amantea and was already about to sack it, when he received an order from the emperor Leo (VI) announcing the death of Basil (I)⁷³ and ordering his return. On learning of the death of the emperor he kept it to himself, so that the Hagarenes might not learn of it. He affirmed to them under oath that if they surrendered the city to him he would allow them to go freely wherever they might wish, and, having affixed a cross in front of the city as greater assurance for them, he persuaded them to leave the city. Some of them went to Africa, some to Longibardia and Calabria, and the emperor received Nikephoros most gladly on his arrival in the City and conferred all honour on him.

⁷² For Danielis see *ODB* 1:583.

⁷³ After a hunting accident in 886.

[28:12–23] Τοῦ δὲ δομεστίκου Νικηφόρου πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξόχως ἀγαπωμένου, ὁ βασιλεοπάτωρ Ζαούτζας τοῦτον ὡς δυνάστην προσελάβετο, γαμικὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι βουλόμενος συνάλλαγμα. Τοῦ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπαναινομένου, μήποτε ὑπόνοιαν δῶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι, μανεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο Ζαούτζας αἰτίας ἐκίνησε κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτον μετέστησε. Προσεβλήθη δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῶν σχολῶν δομέστικος ὁ μάγιστρος Κατακαλῶν. Ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ σχολάσας ὁ Νικηφόρος αὐθις στρατηγὸς ἐν τῷ τῶν Θρακησίων θέματι προχειρίζεται. Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ γενναίας ἀνδραγαθίας διὰ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καταπραξάμενος βιωτῆς καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν στησάμενος τρόπαια, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἐν γήρα καλῶ, υἱοὺς καταλιπὼν Βάρδαν καὶ Λέοντα. Ὡν ὁ Βάρδας, οἰκειότατος ὢν τῷ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι, ἐστέργετό τε καὶ ἡγαπάτο καὶ δουλείαις ἐξυπηρετεῖτο ταῖς ἀνηκούσαις τῷ βασιλεῖ.

Istrin 1922 28.12–23

Since the *domestikos* Nikephoros [the Elder] was especially beloved by the emperor [Leo VI], the *basileopator*⁷⁴ Zaoutzes saw him as a dynast, and wished to conclude a marriage alliance with him. When he refused this, lest he give the emperor Leo cause for suspicion, Zaoutzes in his anger at this brought accusations against him, and had him removed from his command. The *magistros* Katakalon was appointed as *domestikos* of the *scholai* in his place. After considerable time in retirement Nikephoros [the Elder] was again appointed *strategos* in the Thrakesion theme.⁷⁵ He accomplished many noble and courageous deeds in warfare throughout all his life and set up many trophies against the Hagarenes. He ended his life at a good old age, leaving his sons Bardas and Leo, of whom Bardas was especially close to the emperor Leo (VI), and was loved and cared for and assisted by the emperor's disobedient slaves.

74 The title, "father of the emperor," was invented for Zaoutzes; see *ODB* 1:263–264.

75 For doubts about this unusual career sequence see Cheynet 1986, 295.

53 Στέφανος τοίνυν ὁ υἱὸς Ῥωμανοῦ ἐπαναστὰς τῷ πατρί,
συμβούλοις τε χρησάμενος τῷ τε ἀπὸ μοναχῶν Μαρριανῷ καὶ Βα-
σιλείῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Πετεινῷ καὶ Μανουὴλ τῷ Κουρτίκῃ, συνει-
δόντων αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βασιλέων, ἐπεὶ μακρῷ γήρει καὶ νόσῳ
15 τρυχόμενον εἶδεν, καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας κατὰ διαθήκας ἀπακρι-
βωσάμενον (καὶ ἄνακτα πρῶτον τὸν Πορφυρογέννητον Κωνσταντί-
νον προσδιωρίσατο καὶ καθεξῆς ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ τοὺς τούτου
υἱοὺς) καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ῥητῶς ἐξασφαλίσάμενον ὡς εἴπερ τῷ πρῶ-
τω, βασιλεῖ κατὰ τι πταίσειαν, καθαιρεῖσθαι παραυτίκα τῆς βα-
20 σιλείας, τοῦτον τοῦ παλατίου κακῶς κατήγαγεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Πρώτῃ
νήσῳ ἐξορίσας ἀπέκειρεν μοναχόν.

Ἐπελείφθη οὖν αὐτοκράτωρ Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ τούτου γαμβρός, |
μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ', ἰνδικτιῶνος γ', ἐν ἔτει ,ςυνδ'. ὃς παραυτίκα
Βάρδαν τὸν Φωκᾶν μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν προ-
χειρίζεται, καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον ναυμαχίας ἡγήτορα, καὶ στρατιάρ-
5 χας τινὰς τῶν εὐχρήστων. Τὸν δὲ Πετεινὸν πατρίκιον καὶ κόμητα
τοῦ στάβλου πεποίηκε, τὸν δὲ Κουρτίκην πατρίκιον καὶ δρουγγά-
ριον τῆς βίγλας, οὐστίνας ὁ θεὸς συντόμως ἐπεξήλθεν ὡς εἰς χρι-
στὸν κυρίου παροινήσαντας· ἐπὶ καθοσιώσει γὰρ καταληφθέντες,
ὡς ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν οἰκτίστω θανάτῳ τὸν βίον ἀπέρρηξαν.

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The Chronicle of Pseudo-Symeon for the Years 944–962

53 (Cf. TheophCont 435: 53, 52) | Therefore¹ Stephen,² the son of Romanos (I), 752
 rebelled against his father, taking as advisers the former monk Marianos, and
 Basil called Peteinos, and Manuel Kourtikes—the remaining emperors also
 shared knowledge of this with him—when he saw [Romanos I] worn out
 with great old age and illness and that he had detailed arrangements for the
 empire in a will: he specified as senior sovereign the Porphyrogennetos Con-
 stantine and in succession his sons as the second and third, and confirmed
 verbatim to them that if they should move in any way against the senior
 emperor, they would be removed immediately from imperial status. So he
 [Stephen] wrongly removed him [Romanos I] from the Palace and exiled
 him on the island of Prote and had him tonsured as a monk. | 753

[1] (Cf. TheophCont 436: 1) Constantine (VII), his son-in-law, was left as sover-
 eign on the twentieth of the month of December, third indiction, in the year
 6454.³ He immediately appointed Bardas Phokas *magistros* and *domestikos*
 of the *scholai*, and Constantine⁴ as head of the navy, and some *stratiarchai*
 from among qualified men. He made Peteinos *patrikios* and *komes* of the
 stable,⁵ and Kourtikes *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the Watch, men whom
 God shortly punished for their drunken violence against the anointed⁶ of
 the Lord. For, arrested for *lèse-majesté*, each shattered his life with a most
 pitiable death.

1 Ed. Bekker 1838, 752–760.

2 Stephen Lekapenos.

3 The date, the same as that given by Theophanes Continuatus [436:2–3], 6454 = 945/946, is in error, 944 is needed; see Treadgold 2013, 214 with n. 62.

4 Constantine Gongylios.

5 Something has apparently been omitted here. Theophanes Continuatus [436:10–12] indicates that Constantine appointed Marianos Argyros *komes* of the stable and Basil Peteinos as *patrikios* and grand *hetaireiarch*.

6 i.e. the emperor Romanos I.

- 2 Μετὰ δὲ μ' ἡμέρας Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος
 ὑποπτεύσας Στέφανον καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τοὺς ἀγαθὸν ἀδελφούς, μὴ
 ποτε καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅμοια διαπράξωνται, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, ὅτι
 εἰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς οὐκ ἐφείσαντο, πῶς αὐτοῦ φείσονται; λέγεται
 γὰρ ὅτι φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί. τῶν ὁμαιμόνων
 15 τί γίνεται; ἐστίασας αὐτοὺς καὶ φιλοφρονήσας, ἔτι τῆς βρώσεως
 οὔσης ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἀνήρπασαν τούτους οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο εὐ-
 τρεπισμένοι, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλησιαζούσαις νήσοις αὐτοὺς περιώρισαν
 κληρικούς ποιήσαντες. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα αὐτῶν
 αἰτησάμενοι ἰδεῖν μοναχὸν ὄντα, πένθει ἀφορήτῳ κατεχόμενοι.
 20 ὁ δὲ ὁμοίως ὀδυρόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐφθέγγετο "υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα
 καὶ ὑψώσα, αὐτοὶ δὲ με ἠθέτησαν." εἶθ' οὕτως ἐξορίζονται, ὁ
 μὲν Στέφανος εἰς Προικόνησον, εἶτα εἰς Ῥόδον, ἔπειτα εἰς Μιτυ-
 λήνην, ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος εἰς Τένεδον, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Σαμωθράκην· |
 ἐν ἧ καὶ ἀνταρσίαν μελετήσας παρὰ τῶν φυλασσόντων αὐτὸν
 σφάζεται. Μιχαὴλ δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοφόρου υἱόν, τὰ
 βασιλικά πέδιλα ἀφελόμενος, κληρικὸν ἐποίησεν Θεοφύλακτος ὁ
 5 πατριάρχης. ὁμοίως καὶ Θεοφάνην πατρίκιον καὶ παρακοιμώμε-
 νον ἐξώρισε, καὶ Γεώργιον πρωτοσπαθάριον καὶ πιγκέρναν καὶ
 Θωμᾶν πριμικήριον, οὓς δείρας καὶ κουρεύσας καὶ θριαμβεύσας
 ἐξώρισε διὰ τὸ φωραθῆναι αὐτοὺς καιροσκοπεῖν τοῦ εἰσαγαγεῖν
 πάλιν τὸν Ῥωμανὸν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ.
- 3 Τῷ Δεκεμβρίῳ μηνί, τῆς ς' ἰνδικτιῶνος, ἐπιβουλῆς
 γενομένης εἰς τὸ τὸν Στέφανον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀγαγεῖν ἐν τῷ παλα-
 τίῳ, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Διαβολίνου ἐμνηύθη, πάντων κρα-
 τηθέντων τῶν μὲν τὰς ῥίνας καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἀπέτεμε, τοὺς δὲ δαρμῶ
 ἀφορήτῳ ὑπέβαλεν καὶ ὄνοις ἐπικαθίσας καὶ θριαμβεύσας ἐξ-
 15 ὠρισε.
- 4 Τῇ δὲ ιε' τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνός, τῆς ς' ἰνδικτιῶνος, Ῥω-
 μανός ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τελευτᾷ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ
 πόλει διακομισθὲν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀπετέθη μονῇ. (5) μετὰ γούν

- 2 (Cf. TheophCont 437–438: 2–3, 440–441: 5) After forty days Constantine the Porphyrogennetos came to suspect that Stephen and Constantine,⁷ the [Lekapenoï] brothers, might at some point carry out similar actions against him, which was probable, because if they did not spare their own father, how would they spare him? For the saying goes that *bad company ruins good morals*.⁸ What happened to the brothers? He [Constantine VII] invited them to dinner and was friendly to them, but while they still had food in their mouths men well prepared to do so seized them and making them clerics banished them to the neighbouring islands. Shortly thereafter, stricken with unbearable grief, they asked to see their father, now a monk, and he likewise lamenting said to them, “I fathered sons and elevated them, they rejected me.” Then they were exiled as follows: Stephen to Proikonnesos, then to Rhodes, then to Mytilene, | Constantine to Tenedos, from there to Samothrace, where when he engaged in rebellion he was slain by those guarding him. The patriarch Theophylaktos, after taking away the imperial boots of Michael, the son of the emperor Christopher, made him a cleric.⁹ Likewise also he [Constantine VII] exiled the *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos* Theophanes, and he had flayed, tonsured, and paraded for public derision and exiled Gregory the *protospatharios* and cupbearer together with Thomas the *primikerios*, because they were detected looking for a chance to bring Romanos back into the Palace.
- 3 (Cf. TheophCont 441: 6) In the month of December, the sixth indiction, there was a plot to bring Stephen from the island into the Palace. When it was revealed by Michael Diabolinus, he [Constantine VII] had the noses and ears slit of all those seized, and he subjected them to an unbearable beating, and seated on asses, and paraded for public derision and exiled.
- 4–5 (Cf. TheophCont 441: 7, 442–443: 9, 444–445: 11) On the fifteenth of July¹⁰ of the sixth indiction Romanos (I) the emperor died on the island, and his body was conveyed to the City and interred in his monastery.¹¹

7 Constantine Lekapenos.

8 1 Cor. 15:33. This comment is not found in the related passage in Theophanes Continuatus.

9 Theophanes Continuatus [438:7–8] indicates that Constantine VII made Michael *magistros* and *rhaiktor*.

10 Theophanes Continuatus [441:11–13] has the 15th of June; Vat. gr. 163, chap. 1, has the 15th of July.

11 The Myrelaion.

20 τὸ μόνον καταλειφθῆναι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντῖνον, προεχει-
 ρίσαστο Βασίλειον τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἀπὸ παλλακῆς
 φυσικὸν υἱὸν Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως πατρίκιον καὶ
 παρακοιμώμενον καὶ παραδυναστεύοντα τῆς συγκλήτου. οὗτος
 δὲ ἦν ἐχέφρων καὶ λόγιος, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν πάσιν ὑπηρετῶν
 αἰσίως καὶ πρεπόντως. τότε καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Θεοφύλακτος ἀρ- |
 ρωστήσας καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς κυριευθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, κρατήσας τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας ἕτη κδ'. χειροτονεῖται δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνωτέρω εἰρημέ-
 νος Πολύευκτος μοναχός, τίμιος ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀγιώτατος.

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6 Τότε καὶ ἀποστολικῶν ἐσθήτων ἀποκεκρυμμένων ἕν τι
 γωνία τῆς πόλεως δηλωθεισῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς καὶ
 δοξολογίας ἀνελόμενος αὐτάς, τῷ μεγάλῳ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων
 ἀπεθησαύρισε ναῶ. καὶ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ θεολόγου Γρηγορίου, ἃ
 καὶ μερισθέντα τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ σηκῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἐτέθη-
 10 σαν, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῶ τῆς ἁγίας μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας.

7 Ὁ τοῖνον βασιλεὺς διὰ τὸ τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστι-
 κον τῶν σχολῶν, Βάρδαν τὸν Φωκᾶν λεγόμενον, εἰς γῆρας ἐλάσαι
 καὶ ἀδυνατῶς πρὸς τοὺς κόπους ἔχειν τοῦ δομεστικατοῦ ἀποκινεῖ,
 καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προβάλλεται δομέστικον Νικηφόρον πατρίκιον καὶ
 15 στρατηγὸν τῶν ἀνατολικῶν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. ὡσαύτως καὶ πατρί-
 κιον Λέοντα, τὸν τούτου ἀτάδελφον, στρατηγὸν τῶν δυτικῶν
 προχειρίζεται. γέγονε δὲ ἐμπρησμὸς μέγας πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ
 ἁγίου Θωμᾶ, ὡς καῆναι τὸν ἔμβολον τὸν πρὸς τὴν Σιδηρᾶν
 πόρταν

8 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τῷ ιδ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ
 Πορφυρογεννήτου (δεκαπέντε γὰρ ἐκράτησεν) ἐγεννήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς
 Βασίλειος ὁ ἕκτος αὐτοῦ, υἱὸς δὲ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.
 20 τῶν δὲ Τούρκων καταδραμόντων μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ
 τοῦ πάσχα, καὶ ληϊσαμένων πᾶσαν τὴν Θράκην, καὶ πραΐδαν |
 πολλὴν λαβόντες, ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ δομέστικον
 τῶν ἐξκουβίτων Πόθον τὸν Ἀργυρὸν μετὰ τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ καὶ

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- (5) After Constantine was left as the sole sovereign, he appointed his *protovestiarios* Basil, the natural son from a concubine of Romanos, the previous emperor, *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos*, and *paradynasteuon* of the senate. This man was prudent and learned and serving the emperor in all things | auspiciously and appropriately. Then the patriarch Theophylaktos grew ill and, overcome by it, died, after ruling the church for twenty-four years. To replace him the aforementioned monk Polyeuktos was ordained, a revered and most holy man. 755
- 6¹² Then indeed when apostolic garments hidden away in some corner of the City were shown to the emperor, he personally gathered them up with all honour and praise, and stored these treasures in the great Church of the Holy Apostles. And the remains of the theologian Gregory¹³ were divided; some were placed in the sepulchre of the Holy Apostles, the others in the Church of the holy martyr Anastasia.¹⁴
- 7 (Cf. TheophCont 459–460: 41, 462: 45–46) Moreover, because the *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *scholai* Bardas called Phokas had reached old age and was not capable of his duties, the emperor removed him from the domestic, and appointed in his place as *domestikos* Nikephoros, *patrikios* and *strategos* of the Anatolikon, his son.¹⁵ Likewise also the *patrikios* Leo, this man's brother, he designated as *strategos* of the West. There occurred a great fire near the Church of St Thomas, so that it burned the portico as far as the Iron Gate.
- 8 (Cf. TheophCont 462–463: 47) Note that in the fourteenth year (he ruled for fifteen) of the reign of Constantine the Porphyrogenetos, the emperor Basil (II) his grandson was born, the son of Romanos, his son. When the Turks¹⁶ came rampaging as far as the City on the feast | of Easter, and were plundering all Thrace and taking much booty, the emperor immediately dispatched on their tracks the *patrikios* and *domestikos* of the *exkoubitoi*, Pothos Argy- 756

12 This passage is not found in either Theophanes Continuatus or in Vat. gr. 163.

13 Gregory Nazianzus. For the dating of the translation of Gregory's relics to early in the reign of Constantine VII rather than post-956 as suggested here, see Flusin 1998; also the emperor praying at the tomb of Gregory in Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* 1.10 (Reiske 1829, 76–77).

14 See Janin 1969, 22–25, #2, esp. 24 on this church.

15 Presumably in 955; see Canard 1951, 763.

16 Here meaning Magyars.

5 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν βουκελλαρίων καὶ τοῦ Ὀψικίου καὶ Θρακησίου
κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐξαπέστειλεν· οἱ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατ-
έσφαξαν αὐτούς, λαβόντες καὶ τὴν πραιίδαν καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν
πάσαν.

9 Φασὶ δὲ ὅτι εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου
λαμπρὸς ἀστήρ ἐφάνη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας μ', καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῇ κοιμήσει
10 καὶ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρα φανῆναι ἀμαυρὸν ἔχοντα φῶς. τελευτᾷ
οὖν νοσήσας, πεποικηκῶς βασιλέα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμανόν, καὶ
θάπτεται ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων μετὰ Λέοντος βασι-
λέως τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ τῇ ἰδέᾳ εὐμήκης τὴν ἡλικίαν, λευ-
κὸς τὴν χροιάν, εὐόφθαλμος, χαροποὺς ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς,
15 γρυπὸς ἦτοι ἐπίριν, μακροπρόσωπος, μακροτράχηλος, εὐρὺς τοὺς
ὤμους, φιλοτράπεζος, φίλοινος, ἡδὺς τοῖς λόγοις. ἔζησε δὲ
χρόνους νε', καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ιε', ἰνδικτιῶνος ς',
ἔτους ς,ςνς', καταλείψας αὐτοκράτορα Ῥωμανόν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ·
μεθ' Ἑλένης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.

20 Κόσμου ἔτος, ς,ςνς', θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτει λ,νς', Ῥωμαίων βα-
σιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς ἔτη γ' μηνῶν γ' ἡμέρας ε'. ἦν δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν
νέος, σφριγῶν τῷ σώματι, σιτόχροος, εὐόφθαλμος, ἐπίριν, χα- |
ροπός, γλυκὺς τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὄρθιος ὡς κυπάρισσος, εὐρὺς τοὺς
ὤμους, ἥσυχος καὶ προσηγής. καταλειφθεὶς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ παρὰ
τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου ἐτῶν ὦν
5 κα', σὺν Βασιλείῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυσιαίῳ ὄντι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ
αὐτοῦ Ἑλένῃ καὶ τῇ συνεύῳ αὐτοῦ Θεοφανῶ. καὶ παρευθὺ τοὺς

ros, with his regiment, and [those] of the *strategoï* of the Boukellarïoi¹⁷ and of the Opsikion¹⁸ and of the Thrakesion.¹⁹ Falling upon them by night, they slaughtered them, taking the booty and all the captives.

- 9 (Cf. TheophCont 463: 48, 466–469: 51–54) They say that at the birth of the Porphyrogennetos a bright star appeared for forty days, and again at his passing and departure a star appeared with dim light. Becoming ill then he [Constantine VII] died, after making his son Romanos (II) emperor, and he was interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles with the emperor Leo (VI), his father. Personally he was tall in stature, his complexion white, his eyes beautiful and bright, he had an aquiline or long nose, a long face, a long neck, broad shoulders, was fond of the table, fond of wine, charming in speech. He lived for fifty-five years and died on the fifteenth of November, sixth indication, year 6456,²⁰ leaving as sovereign Romanos his son with Helena his mother.

[Reign of Romanos II]

- [1] (Cf. TheophCont 468–469: 54, 469–470: 1, 471–472: 3–4, 473: 6) Year of the world 6456, year of the divine incarnation 956,²¹ the emperor of the Romans Romanos, three years, three months, five days. He was of a young age, | physically vigorous, his complexion the colour of ripe wheat, his eyes beautiful, he had a long nose, was joyful, charming in his words, upright as a cypress tree, with broad shoulders, gentle and kindly.²² He was left as sovereign by his father Constantine the Porphyrogennetos at twenty-one years of age, with Basil (II) his son, who was one year old, and his mother Helena and his wife Theophano.

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17 *PmbZ* Anon. #31414.

18 *PmbZ* Anon. #31415.

19 *PmbZ* Anon. #31416.

20 As below also for the subsequent accession of Romanos II, the year date is seriously in error (6456 = 963/964), while 959 is correct. For similar problems with the date of Constantine's death see Talbot and Sullivan 2005, 19 and 58 n. 20.

21 Both year and incarnation dates are incorrect; see Treadgold 2013, 220 with n. 84. Romanos II became sole emperor in November of 959. Theophanes Continuatus [469:1–2] gives third indiction, year 6469, which is incorrect for the correct 6468.

22 This description of Romanos II is not found in the Vat. gr. 163 version.

ἀνθρώπους τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀξιώμασι μεγίστοις ὑπερανεβί-
 βασε καὶ δώροις καταπλουτίσας τοῦ παλατιῦ κατήγαγεν, ἐξελέ-
 ξατο δὲ καὶ προέκρινε παραδυναστεύοντας καὶ πρώτους τῆς συγ-
 10 κλήτου Ἰωσήφ πατρίκιον καὶ δρουγγάριον τῶν πλωτῶν, ὄντινα
 καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ παρακοιμώμενον ἐποίησεν· τὸν δὲ πρωτοσπαθά-
 ριον Ἰωάννην τὸν Χοινὸν πατρίκιον καὶ μέγαν ἑταιρειάρχην προε-
 βάλετο, τὸν δὲ πρωτοσπαθάριον Σισίνιον τὸν ἀπὸ σακελλίου ἔπαρ-
 χον πόλεως ἐχειροτόνησεν καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ πατρίκιον καὶ γενικὸν
 15 λογοθέτην. τὰς δὲ ἀδελφάς αὐτοῦ, Ζωὴν καὶ Θεοδώραν [Ἀγά-
 θην] καὶ Θεοφανῶ καὶ Ἄνναν, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν κατήγαγε δό-
 μων, καὶ εἰς τὸν βασιλικὸν οἶκον τὸν λεγόμενον Κανικλείου, ἐν ᾧ
 καὶ Σοφία Αὐγουστα ἢ τοῦ Χριστοφόρου βασιλέως γαμετὴ ἦν
 ἀποκεκαρμένη, ἐπήγαγεν, καὶ μετὰ δίππευσιν ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸ Ἄν-
 20 τιόχου ἐκλήρωσεν. τὴν δὲ Ἀγάθην εἰς τὸ ἰδρυθὲν φροντιστήριον
 παρὰ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πάππου αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν, καὶ
 διωρίσατο χορηγεῖσθαι αὐταῖς ἅ καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐδίδοντο. τὸν
 δὲ δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν καὶ πατρίκιον Νικηφόρον τὸν Φωκᾶν
 μάγιστρον ἐτίμησεν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἐξέπεμψεν. ὡσαύτως καὶ
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πατρίκιον Λέοντα μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον |
 τῆς δύσεως ἐποίησεν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν εὐφραϊνόμενος ἐν κυνηγίοις
 καὶ θήραις δι' ἄλλου ἀβροδίατος τυγχάνων. ἐγέννησε καὶ ἕτερον
 υἱὸν μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον αὐτὸν
 5 ὠνόμασεν· ὅς καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐστέφη παρὰ Πολυεύκτου πα-
 τριάρχου ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας. ἢ δὲ Αὐγουστα Ἐλένη
 ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ συνῆν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἕως ἀρρωστήσασα κατὰ τὴν ἰθ'
 τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τέθνηκεν· καὶ κατετέθη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ
 πατρὸς αὐτῆς, Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν λάρνακι πλησίον τοῦ
 10 πατρὸς αὐτῆς.

2 Τὸν δὲ μάγιστρον καὶ δομέστικον Νικηφόρον τὸν Φω-
 κᾶν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ στρατείας πολλῆς καὶ ἐξοπλίσεως πλοίων
 πολεμικῶν καὶ ὑγροῦ πυρὸς εἰς τὴν Κρήτην ἀπέστειλεν, ἥτις ὑπὸ
 Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἦν τὸ πρότερον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαὴλ τοῦ
 15 Τραυλοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοφίλου ἐκρατήθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰσπανίας
 ἀνελθόντων Σαρακηνῶν διὰ τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἀσχολεῖσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ
 στρατεύματα εἰς τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ στάσιν τοῦ ἀντάρτου Μωρο-
 θωμᾶ· τοῦ συντρόφου Μιχαὴλ, ὡς γενέσθαι τὴν αὐτῆς νήσου
 κράτησιν, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς πάλιν ἐπορθήθη παρὰ Νικηφόρου
 20 μαγίστρου καὶ δομεστικῶ Φωκᾶ, ἔτη ρνη'. ὑπῆρχον δὲ χελάνδρια

Immediately after elevating his father's men with the greatest dignities and lavishing them with gifts, he removed them from the Palace, and singled out and preferred as *paradynasteuontes* and leading men of the senate: Joseph the *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet, whom a short time later he also made *parakoimomenos*; he designated the *protospatharios* John Choinos as *patrikios* and grand *hetaireiarches*, and the *protospatharios* Sisinius, the *sakellarios*, he appointed eparch of the City, and shortly thereafter *patrikios* and logothete of the *genikon*. His sisters Zoe and Theodora, [Agatha] and Theophano and Anna he removed from the imperial buildings and transferred them to the imperial house called Kanikleiou, where the *augousta* Sophia, wife of the emperor Christopher, was tonsured, and after a lapse of days he assigned them to the [monastery] of Antiochus. He sent Agatha to the monastery founded by Romanos (I), the emperor and his grandfather, and he declared that they be provided with what they had also been given in the Palace. He honoured the *domestikos* of the *scholai* and *patrikios* Nikephoros Phokas as *magistros* and sent him to Anatolia. Likewise also | he made his brother the *patrikios* Leo *magistros* and *domestikos* of the West.²³ He himself thoroughly enjoyed hunts and chases, being a lover of luxury. He also fathered another son after the death of his father, and named him Constantine. After a short time he [Constantine VIII] was crowned by Polyeuktos the patriarch in the ambo of Saint Sophia. The *augousta* Helena was in the Palace with the emperor, until growing ill she died on the nineteenth of the month of September. She was interred in the monastery of her father, Romanos [I], the emperor, in a sarcophagus near her father.

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- 2 (Cf. TheophCont 473–474: 7, 475–477: 10, 480–481: 16) The emperor dispatched the *magistros* and *domestikos* Nikephoros Phokas with a large army and armaments of war vessels and liquid fire to Crete, which was formerly under the Romans, but in the reign of Michael (II) the Stammerer, the father of Theophilos, was conquered by the Saracens coming from Hispania, because the Roman armies were occupied at that time against the usurpation and revolt of the rebel Morothomas, Michael's brother [-in-arms],²⁴ so that the conquest of this island lasted for 158 years,²⁵ until the day on which it was again besieged by Nikephoros, *magistros* and *domestikos* Phokas.

23 The office of *domestikos* of the *scholai* was first divided into East and West in the reign of Romanos II (see Cheynet 1986, 302).

24 "Foolish Thomas" or Thomas the Slav.

25 A mistake for 138, an error found also in Theophanes Continuatus and Vat. gr. 163. Michael II reigned 820–829. See Treadgold 2013, 216 n. 71.

μετὰ τοῦ ὕγρου πυρός ,β', δρόμωνες ,α', καράβια καματηρὰ σι-
 τάρην ἔχοντα καὶ ὄπλα πολεμικὰ τξ'. ἀπάρας οὖν τῆς βασιλίδος
 Νικηφόρος ὁ δομέστικος, καὶ τὰ Φύγελα καταλαβίων, ἐφρόντιζεν
 ὅπως ὁ σύμπας στόλος αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶη καὶ προσορμίζοιτο. |
 σπουδῆ οὖν τὴν νῆσον καταλαμβάνουσιν· καὶ ἀποβάντων τῶν νηῶν
 χάρακα καὶ τάφρον βαθεῖαν κατεσκεύασαν. τούτων οὕτως παρα-
 καθεζομένων τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ ἀπείρου χειμῶνος καὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ κρύους
 5 γινομένου, καὶ τῶν σιτίων δαπανηθέντων, καταναρκήσαντες οἱ τοῦ
 στρατοῦ οἴκαδε ἠβουλήθησαν ἀναστρέψαι. ὁ δὲ συνετάτατος
 Νικηφόρος καὶ δούξ τῆ τῶν λόγων ἠδύτητι τούτους κατέσχεν.
 Μαθῶν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἔνδειαν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπισιτισμὸν παν-
 τοίων τροφῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλεν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Μάρτιον μῆνα
 10 πολεμοῦ κροτηθέντος σφοδροῦ καὶ καρτερᾶς μάχης γενομένης παρ-
 ἔλαβον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ κάστρον.

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3 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὀκτωβρίῳ μηνὶ τοῦ β' ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας
 Ῥωμανοῦ ἐγένετο σπάνη σίτου καὶ κριθῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐπράθη
 γὰρ ὁ σίτος τῷ νομίσματι μόδιοι δ', ἡ δὲ κριθὴ μόδιοι ς'. οὐ
 15 πολὺς οὖν χρόνος παρήλθε, καὶ εὐθύς γέγονεν ὁ σίτος μόδιοι η', ἡ
 δὲ κριθὴ μόδιοι ιβ'.

4 Τῷ δὲ Μαρτίῳ μηνὶ κατηγορήθη Βασίλειος ὁ Πετει-
 νὸς ὑπὸ τινῶν ὡς τῆς βασιλείας ἐφιέμενος· ὅστις ἐν ἐξορίᾳ παρε-
 πέμφθη, ἐν ἧ καὶ τελευτᾷ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μαθὼν τὴν τῆς Κρήτης
 20 ἄλωσιν ἐδόξασε τὸν θεόν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν
 σχολῶν Νικηφόρος κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθεν,
 καὶ μετὰ τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἦλθε πεζῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 οἴκου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον, ἅμα τῷ ἀμνηρᾷ Κρήτης τοῦ λεγο-
 μένου Κουροπαλάτου καὶ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ, στολὰς

There were 2000 *chelandia* with liquid fire, 1000 *dromons*, 360 transport ships with wheat and military equipment.²⁶ And so when Nikephoros the *domestikos* departed from the queen [of cities] and reached Phygela, he took thought for | how his entire navy might stay together and come to anchor. 759 So they eagerly came to the island. After disembarking from the ships, they constructed a palisade and a deep ditch. Thus settled on the island amid boundless winter and rain and freezing and with their grain consumed, the troops, who had grown torpid, wanted to return home. The most intelligent Nikephoros and commander restrained them with the sweetness of his words. When the emperor learned of the army's needs he dispatched to them provisions of every sort of nourishment. In the month of March with war engaged vigorously and after a mighty battle the Romans took the city [Chandax].

- 3 (Cf. TheophCont 479: 13) In the month of October of the second year of the reign of Romanos (II) there was a shortage of wheat and barley in the City. For wheat was sold at four *modioi* for a *nomisma*, barley at six *modioi*. Not much time passed and quickly wheat was eight *modioi*, barley twelve [per *nomisma*].²⁷
- 4 (Cf. TheophCont 479–480: 14, 480–481: 16) In the month of March Basil the Peteinos was denounced by certain men of seeking the throne. He was sent into exile where he died.²⁸ When the emperor learned of the capture of Crete, he gave glory to God. Not much later Nikephoros, the *domestikos* of the *scholai*, at the bidding of the emperor came to the City, and with the booty and the captives he came on foot from his house to the Hippodrome,²⁹ with

26 Cf. Theophanes Continuatus [475:20–22] who gives 2000 *vῆες* with liquid fire, 1000 *dromons* and 307 transport ships. On the difficulty of distinguishing between *chelandia* and *dromons* see Pryor and Jeffreys 2006, 188–190.

27 On these prices see above the related passage in Theophanes Continuatus [479:1–11] with n. 229. He attributes the change to the effective actions of Joseph Bringas in sending ships to the East and West to bring grain and in preventing hoarding.

28 The following material on Phokas's triumph in Constantinople and departure for Aleppo does not appear in the extant portion of Theophanes Continuatus that breaks off abruptly with the capture of Crete. A fuller account of the siege of Aleppo appears in the Vat. gr. 163 text at chap. 22.

29 On the triumph cf. Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 2.2 (Hase 1828, 28–29) and see McCormick 1990, 167–168 with n. 141, refuting Skylitzes's claim that Phokas was not allowed to enter the city.

λευκάς περιβεβλημένων πάντων τῶν Σαρακηνῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν μά- |
 γιστρος τιμῶν καὶ γερῶν μεγάλων ἠξιώθη παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος,
 ὁ ἀμηράς δὲ πλείστα δῶρα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον παρὰ τοῦ βα-
 σιλέως λαβὼν σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ εἰς χωρία οἰκεῖν συνεχωρήθη.
 5 εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον οὐκ ἀνεβιβάσθη διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς
 βαπτισθῆναι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς Νικηφόρον τὸν μάγιστρον
 αὐθις κατὰ τὴν ἐψῶν ἐξαπέστειλεν κατὰ τοῦ ἀλαζόνος Χαμβδά.
 ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Χέλεπε κάστρον παρέλαβε, ἐξ οὗ
 καὶ λαφύρων πολλὴ γίνεται συναγωγὴ.

the emir of Crete called *Kouropalates*³⁰ and all his relatives, | all the Saracens 760
dressed in white robes. And the *magistros* was deemed worthy of honours
and great privileges by the sovereign, and the emir received very many gifts
and gold and silver from the emperor, and was allowed to live in the country-
side with his children. He was not elevated to the senate, because they did
not wish to be baptized. The emperor Romanos again dispatched the *mag-*
istros Nikephoros to the East against the braggart Chambdan. He went and
first took the city of Aleppo from which a great deal of booty was collected.

30 Apparently an error for Kouroupas (Abd al-Aziz ibn Shu'ayb). *Kouropalates* was a high-ranking title (see *ODB* 2:1157).

The *Capture of Crete*, by Theodosios the Deacon

Introduction

The Author

The author identifies himself in the title of the poem as “Theodosios, a humble deacon”; his title is ΑΛΩΣΙΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ or *The Capture of Crete*, specifically the Byzantine retaking of Crete in spring of 961 on the orders of the emperor Romanos II and under the military command of Nikephoros Phokas, after more than 130 years of Arab control. The author also gives his name in a prose proem addressed to Nikephoros Phokas and at additional points in the text. Our knowledge of Theodosios is, however, limited to this text alone. He is clearly a contemporary of the event and his description of the emperor Romanos II’s “pale countenance” as a result of his concern for the expedition suggests that Theodosios may have been attached to the imperial court. He also mentions Romanos’s receipt of two “letters” (military dispatches) from Nikephoros Phokas that presumably served as his sources for portions of the text.¹ He describes himself as the “servant” of Romanos and asks the emperor to grant him freedom to speak and not to overlook his labours and, as the “logographer of the present day,” again asks Romanos to countenance his daring to speak. He says he has “read many books of many learned men,” naming specifically Plutarch and Dio Cassius, while mentioning Homer frequently by name at numerous points elsewhere in the text. He also refers to Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plato, and Xenophon. Numerous unattributed phrases indicate his reading and frequent use of George of Pisidia and a number of classical authors including Euripides.²

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- 1 See Lauxtermann forthcoming, who also suggests that, while not specifically mentioned, additional dispatches were sent which served as a basis for *akroaseis* 3 and 4, and a fifth announcing victory and resulting in the truncated form of 4 which lacks a prologue and epilogue, and the very different nature of *akroasis* 5. I am most grateful to Professor Lauxtermann for sharing a pre-publication copy of his chapter on Theodosios the Deacon.
 - 2 For a full listing see Criscuolo’s 1979 *Index fontium*, but note the characterization of Theodosios’s use of citations by Luzzatto 1983, 232 “un arcipelago caotico di reminiscenze che vengono incorporate a forza, senza alcun riguardo al contesto originario.”

Date

The poem is dedicated in the title to the emperor Romanos II, but preceded by a prose proem addressed to Nikephoros Phokas asking Phokas to accept the “prattle” of Theodosios and to allow him also to write of Phokas’s conquest of Aleppo. The proem is somewhat awkwardly concluded with the statement that while the poem seems to pertain to the previous emperor (i.e. Romanos II), Phokas will soon see upon whom the main focus lies. Phokas had taken Aleppo on December 23, 962 and the emperor Romanos II died on March 15, 963; Phokas was declared emperor by the army on July 2, 963 and formally crowned on August 16, 963. As Theodosios does not actually refer to Phokas as emperor, the proem was presumably written between the death of Romanos II and July 2, 963. The poem itself seems to have been left largely unchanged despite the new dedicatee. It is divided into five *akroaseis* or “recitations” and was apparently composed and recited in parts over a period of time from the receipt of the first military dispatch.³

Genre

The poem might best be described as an historical epic with encomiastic elements.⁴ Theodosios, as noted above, was strongly influenced by George of Pisidia (died ca. 631–634), whom he not infrequently quotes verbatim,⁵ specifically from the historical epics praising Heraclius for his campaigns against the Persians and Avars. Like George he writes in iambics⁶ and like George his sections are also called *akroaseis* (“recitations”). The period in which Theodosios wrote was one of increasing Byzantine military success and expansion, and his epic exemplifies the increasing militarization of Byzantine society and its values.⁷

Although his rhetoric has been characterized as “turgid and artificial,”⁸ his use of similes is frequent and occasionally well developed. Short similes include troops going forth “like mountain lions,” fire applied “like a whip,” dead bodies strewn about “like a plague.” Blood flows “like the descending bitterness of a mountain torrent,” Cretans fly out of the gates “like sparrows,” the spear of Rome is “like a sudden storm,” dead Cretans are “like a hare fallen and killed

3 See Lauxtermann forthcoming.

4 See Andriollo 2011 and Lauxtermann forthcoming.

5 Panagiotakes 1960, 19–23.

6 For comments on his metrics see Criscuolo 1979, x–xii and Schneider (1981) 282–283.

7 See Lauxtermann forthcoming, Kazhdan 2006, 277, and Andriollo 2014.

8 Kazhdan 2006, 276.

by hunters,” Nikephoros Phokas speaks “like a nightingale,” the Cretan phalanx is “like a wild beast breathing anger,” the general Pastilas uses his sword “like a thunderbolt,” the Cretan leader Karamountes flees “like a hare fleeing hunters,” Homer’s words are “like spells,” and blood rushes “like a spring.” The more developed similes include the eager Byzantine troops attacking “just as wolves, delighting in theft, in the winter season when frost extends itself, joined together with one intent, attack mountain pens and assault the dogs”; the Cretons attack “just as the species greedy for meat among wild animals—wolves—go in anger eager to find satiety for their stomachs, and with empty belly, mouth gaping, outstretched before the catch”; and the general Pastilas attacks “just like a very great and very aged wolf, an experienced pillager and robber of flocks, in his hunger launches himself boldly on the fold of the flocks and rends the dogs until he is overpowered and slaughtered by the men who often loudly gnashed their teeth at him.”

Military Descriptions

Contemporary sources for the conquest of Crete in 961 include Theophanes Continuatus Book 6, the revised chronicle of Symeon the Logothete in Vat. gr. 163, and the chronicle of Pseudo-Symeon, all found earlier in this volume. Later sources include Leo the Deacon, John Skylitzes, and Michael Attaleiates, as well as Arab sources. Panagiotakes provides an integrated and critical historical narrative from the various sources.⁹ On the assumption that Theodosios had access to military dispatches from the field,¹⁰ his description, while heavily poetical and often abstract, may have some unique historical value. It also suggests the emotional context in which the long-sought victory over “accursed, God-damned” (θεόλεστος) Crete¹¹ was received.

He presents Phokas’s initial landing as unopposed, in agreement with Theophanes Continuatus and Pseudo-Symeon, while Leo the Deacon¹² describes an immediate battle with forces from Chandax. Theodosios says Phokas knew he would have to initiate battle, and describes him saying, “Let us seize their cities,” and leading an attack and burning buildings, resulting in a heap of corpses of men, women, and children, followed by the commander consigning “one [place] to fire, another to the sword, destroying cities.” The mention

9 Panagiotakes 1960, 33–88; see also Christides 1984, 172–191 and Tsougarakis 1988, 58–74.

10 See Lauxtermann forthcoming.

11 See Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* 2, index, and 44 (Reiske 1829, 514.5 and 9 and 651.15).

12 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.3 (Hase 1828, 8).

twice here of “cities” in the plural indicates initial attacks on various sites on the island other than Chandax.

The commander then returns to the anchorage and secures the army and beaches ships. After three days of preparation and reconnaissance, he assigned 1000 craftsmen to construct a “towered city” as a fortified camp. The workmen were attacked by “hill-roaming Cretan serpents that sallied out from their ravines,” but the workmen defeated them. Theodosios then describes the Byzantine forces gathering before dawn and at dawn moving forth “eager to bring down towers.” But oddly night falls again and only the next morning, we are told, do the Byzantine phalanxes begin attacking the walls. We also learn that Phokas had Arab captives decapitated before the walls of Chandax. As a result the Arabs in the city sallied out, but were defeated and the moat became their grave.

In the second recitation Theodosios describes Phokas having the moat filled in with rocks and earth in preparation for the advance of siege sheds. After eight days of arrow fire he then deployed rams, tortoises, trebuchets, and ladders and had the decapitated heads projected into the city by the trebuchets. The emir in Chandax then planned a surprise sally, but Phokas was informed of the plan and arranged a feigned retreat and ambush that resulted in massive losses for the Cretans. Theodosios describes individual deaths in this battle, drawing on scenes from Homer.

In the third recitation Theodosios describes the Byzantine army as “proud” due to victories in successive battles. Returning to camp at night they were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the Cretan army. The Byzantine troops began to flee, but were rallied by the sudden, miraculous appearance of Romanos himself as a cavalry officer. This one night saw more slaughter of Cretans than in ten days. The emir, seeing events from the walls, ordered the gates closed. Nikephoros then ordered another assault on the foundations of the walls and their defenders with rams, tortoises, and trebuchets. Nikephoros is said to be passionately and unceasingly encouraging the troops.

Recitation 4 describes an attack by the “Cretans outside” from the “crag and ravines,” led by a certain Karamountes, apparently leader of a rival faction in the countryside. Phokas was warned of the attack and sent the Thrakesian army under Nikephoros Pastilas to reconnoitre. Pastilas was killed by the Cretans, but his troops surrounded them and turned the enemy into “food for birds.” Karamountes fled into the hills and the Byzantine army attacked the walls,

“throwing them to the ground.” Leo the Deacon¹³ also describes the death of Pastilas, but much earlier in the sequence of events. *Akroasis* 5 celebrates the victory, providing no further description of the siege, but issues warnings to the Arabs of Africa, Sicily, and Syria.

Portrayal of Romanos II

Theodosios had the complex task of presenting Romanos II, who remained in Constantinople and saw no military action, as the primary hero of the poem, while not totally downplaying the role of the on-site commander, the already successful general Nikephoros Phokas. The latter problem was exacerbated by the untimely and sudden death of Romanos and the subsequent elevation of Phokas as emperor. Romanos is mentioned by name twelve times in the text and by the pronouns “you” and “he” in numerous other instances. He is occasionally treated as if actually commanding the expedition personally and is described in highly hyperbolic terms. His involvement from Constantinople often has a religious basis: God is his co-commander; he spiritually urges the “phalanx of monks” against the enemy and goes to St Sophia to pray; he is like Moses (Ex. 17:17) who from a distance aided Joshua in battling Amalek, or he has “Christ-like ways” that Theodosios finds overwhelming. On site, Romanos appears miraculously as a cavalry officer in a battle to rally retreating troops, advises a sleeping soldier in a dream, or is responsible for his troops’ successes.

His role is a universal and expansive one: he should be the “sole sovereign of the earth”; he is “the general of all the earth” and “the ruler of the world”; he “saved the whole creation” and “the world from slaughter”; he “possesses victory everywhere”; he “alone expand[s] the [state]”; he surpasses Alexander the Great as a counsellor; he is “all-greatest” and “the star sun.” His father Constantine VII is urged to look from his grave and see a son who is a cavalry man, and to advise him (as Philip did Alexander) to seek power: “not sufficient for you is the power even over the whole earth,” and Romanos “loosed Ares against Crete.” Ancient authors such as Homer are told to celebrate only Romanos, not their ancient military heroes; he is called the “beauty of Rome, sceptred ruler.” Romanos is also a devoted patron of the troops. He considers the troops his children and friends, and the troops have affection for him. He advises, encourages, and extends his hand to all. He is beneficent, provides gifts and benefits, promises to take care of widows and children, and has so much concern for the army that he turns pale.

13 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.4 (Hase 1828, 9–10).

Portrayal of Nikephoros Phokas

In his prose proem Theodosios addresses Phokas as “sun of *magistroi* and avenger of Rome,” and asserts that he is intimidated by Phokas’s accomplishments. In the poem itself Phokas is portrayed as a skilled strategist and tactician, religious, “faithful in battles,” “faithful to the emperor,” with a deep concern for both the physical and spiritual well-being of his troops, ready and able to confront the dangers of battle personally, and capable of great brutality in furtherance of the cause. He begins the initial battle with a prayer, then addresses the troops and praises the emperor Romanos, apparently also promising the reward of martyrs to those who die in battle, and the emperor’s care for their wives and children. He is said to take a very direct role in combat and then sees to the safety of the ships and orders the construction of an elaborate camp to protect returning expeditions. He orders the moat filled for the advance of siege machines, but when the attack has not succeeded, he orders the decapitated heads of enemy captives to be propelled by trebuchets into the city. When he learns of a planned enemy foray from inside Chandax he again encourages the troops and plans a feigned retreat and ambush.

Oddly at this point another senior officer criticizes him before the troops for failing to mention Romanos in his speech: this is apparently Theodosios’s unrevised attempt to assert the preeminence of the emperor in the expedition. In the subsequent battle Phokas personally kills a gigantic Cretan warrior who attacks him. After ordering another assault on the wall, Phokas is depicted as moving everywhere, speaking “like a nightingale,” with fire coming from his nostrils, his hands bleeding from wielding javelins, as he encourages the troops lest they falter. Theodosios adds that he does so “smitten by boiling desire of heart to appear your [Romanos’s] servant.” He subsequently orders a jackass to be thrown into Chandax by the trebuchets and jokes that this “new bird” may provide them with badly needed supplies.

Theodosios’s portrayal of Phokas’s direct involvement in the fighting is contrary to the advice found in the military manuals and is presumably to be taken with caution. Leo VI (following the *Strategikon* of Maurice) advises the commander: “Do not join in hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy; that is the role of the soldier, not of the general.”¹⁴ A commander’s death could have severe consequences for morale.¹⁵ Notably Theophanes Continuatus [476:15–16] in describing an early battle of Phokas on Crete says, “The wise and manly

14 Leo VI, *Tak.* 14.3 (Dennis 2010, 291).

15 See Haldon 2014, 275–276, who notes examples where the advice was ignored and concludes, “It is not always clear to what extent such accounts were exaggerated.”

domestikos himself was left behind the rear guard” (ὄπισθεν Σάκα κατελείφθη), which accords with the standard practice.¹⁶

Portrayal of the Enemy

Theodosios denigrates the Arabs of Crete in varied and scornful terms. The Muslims are called “barbarians,” the “descendants of Hagar,” “Hagar’s children,” the “slaveborn,” the “slave woman’s offspring,” the “tribe of slaveborn Ishmael,” “[people] of the darkness,” “offspring of slaves,” “children of sin,” “rapacious dogs,” “snakes,” and “life-destroying wolves.” They are the “unapproachable wild beast,” “the hideous-shaped sea monster,” the “almost incurable wound of the earth.” However, those who die in battle are promised by the emir to go “where the prophet said he knew torrents of milk, honey, and wine flow.” The emir himself is “the first Charon” (the mythological ferryman of the dead), “Charybdis,” “a beast,” and “a serpent.” Theodosios characterizes Mohammad as “the weaver of falsehoods, the one encouraging the eating of camels, the one initiating the barbarians into fornication, revealed as a false prophet by [his] evil actions.” Mohammad’s soiled mantle is said to be “defiled with myriad shameful acts,” a garment which “the slave woman’s offspring hide”; his sword is said to be “honoured by the enemy like a god.” The city of Tarsos is said to be “in disarray,” the emir of Aleppo Sayf al-Dawla is described as desiring “greedily to take all the earth,” but remaining “mouth agape, speechless at the slaughter of the Cretans.”

Andriollo¹⁷ notes that other Byzantine sources are more positive about the Arab enemy and argues cogently that Theodosios presents the campaign as a “holy war.” The failures of previous expeditions against Crete, including the recent one of 949, and the contemporary characterization of Crete as “accursed, God-damned” (θεόλεστος)¹⁸ may also explain the strongly negative portrayal. Likewise one might note that the reference to Mohammad’s soiled mantle suggests a link to the invective tradition of which Nikephoros Phokas was both a contributor (some Muslim chronicles attribute to him “a [poetic] vituperative assault on Islam”) and a recipient (for example Abu Firas’s “stereotypical demonization” of the Byzantines and Nikephoros Phokas in particular).¹⁹

16 On the “rear guard” (σάκα) see Haldon 2014, 157–158 with earlier bibliography.

17 Andriollo 2011, 44–47.

18 See Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* 2, index, and 44 (Reiske 1829, 514.5 and 9 and 651.15).

19 See Hermes 2009, 42 and 59.

Homer and Other Ancient Authors

In his introductory proem to Phokas, Theodosios credits the fame of Achilles and Alexander the Great to Homer and Plutarch. Yet he constantly uses a derogatory evaluation of the authors of ancient Greece and Rome and their heroes to elevate himself, the emperor Romanos, and the Byzantine army. He particularly attacks Homer as “magnifying the insignificant,” “mingling humble actions in elevated verbiage,” “labouring much over empty matters,” “recounting in vain all the toils of the Hellenes.” Theodosios undermines Homer’s moral authority. Young men are advised not to be deceived by Homer’s words; he is a “myth weaver,” who “narrated falsehoods,” whose “words were like spells,” who “makes the boastful noise of battle resound.” His Achaean wall in the *Iliad* is portrayed as like “spider-webs” compared to Phokas’s camp wall. Homer is encouraged to “herald with the gravitas of [his] words the boast of the army of [New] Rome.” His “web of lies” and his “twisting of words” are the subject of smiles and applause. But “if willing to walk rightly on the paths of truth,” Homer is encouraged to tell of the “tragic streams of blood on Crete.” Plutarch is also characterized in somewhat contradictory terms, as concealing the trivial and bringing in the weighty, but also elevating the small and pulling down the greater, while Demosthenes, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, and Xenophon are all said to wrongly attribute positive characteristics to their subjects. Dio, however, is also described as a cicada and a “wise lyre.”

Vengeance (Retribution), Punishment

On four occasions the Byzantine actions against the Arabs are described as τιμωρία (“vengeance,” “retribution”) and on six as ποινή (“punishment”). Theodosios also addresses Nikephoros Phokas in the proem as ἐκδικαστής (“avenger”). Theodosios’s descriptions of the slaughter of the enemy portray the terrible brutality of vengeance. He describes men and women lying slaughtered in a heap, children weary from running and falling down, old men falling, their grey hair dyed red in their blood, and women losing their maternal instinct and throwing babies down. The scene ends with the phrase “tricolour τιμωρία.” Arab captives are decapitated in view of the wall and when those inside sally out, their slaughtered bodies fill the moat. Subsequently the decapitated heads are propelled into the city by trebuchets, the heads described as “bringers of punishment.” When the Cretans launch another attack from the gates, they are said to “suffer the punishments their faith merited.” The gruesome descriptions of individual deaths that follow are termed “the vengeance of each one’s slaughter.” He concludes with a description of the carnage when the Byzantine army entered the city: children watching their mothers being bound or slaughtered, children being slaughtered together with their fathers amid rushes of blood, old

men in flight struck in the back by javelins, young men tripped up by their long robes and falling. One should note that Leo the Deacon,²⁰ by contrast, says that Phokas restrained “the murderous impulses of his army” after Chandax fell.²¹

View from Egypt

Yahya of Antioch²² reports that “the news of that [event: the fall of Chandax] reached Egypt [Cairo] on Friday, 8 [month?] of the year past, which is the Day of Lazarus’s [resurrection], two days before Palm Sunday. So, instantaneously a crowd of lowly people proceeded toward the Church of St. Michael, which belongs to the Melkites in Qasr al-Sham’ [“The Fortress of Candles”], and greatly dishevelled, vandalized and plundered all that was inside, and they also plundered the two churches of St. Theodore and The Virgin Mary ... When social strife increased on that day, one of the Ikhshidid leaders set out with a group of young men and dispersed the crowd and calmed the strife.”²³

Copyright restrictions have precluded reprinting of a modern edition of the Greek text. Given the value of an accompanying Greek version, it seemed useful to reprint the Bonn edition of F. Jacobs (1828). I have added in the footnotes readings from the edition of Panagiotakes (1960) when I have followed it for the translation.

20 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 2.7 (Hase 1828, 26–27).

21 For the controversy on the accuracy of the two opposing views see the summary in Talbot and Sullivan 2005, 79 n. 43.

22 Yahya of Antioch, *Histoire* (Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev 1932–1957, 782–783).

23 I am grateful to Prof. Mohssen Esseesy of The George Washington University for his translation of this text from the Arabic.

ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ ΑΛΩΣΕΩΣ

ΑΚΡΟΑΣΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΝ.

Ταυτά μοι, ὦ μαγίστρων ἡλιε, καὶ Ῥώμης ἐκδικητά, πεπό-
νηται μὲν πρὸ καιροῦ περὶ Κρήτης, οὐ δέδοται δέ. Τὸ μὲν, ἵνα
μὴ χρόνοις τὰ σὰ τῶν τροπαίων λήθη περιδοθῆ κατορθώματα·
ἀ γὰρ ἀνδρεία ποιεῖ, ἀμαυροὶ χρόνος, εἰ μὴ λόγος προφθάσας ἐν
5 βίβλοις τισὶν ἐναπόθηται· οὐ δέδοται δέ, φόβῳ καὶ συστολῇ,
καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐναπολειφθῆναι καὶ ἡττηθῆναι τοῖς σοῖς κατορθώ-
μασι· δέξαι οὖν, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας εἰσὶν ἐνδεᾶ Θεοδοσίου ψελ- |
λίσματα, καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Χάλεπε γράφειν ἐπίτρεψον καταστρο-
φῆς καὶ ἀλώσεως· οὕτω γὰρ προθυμότερος γεγονώς, τῶν σῶν
κατορθωμάτων, ὡς ἐξόν, γενήσομαι συγγραφεύς. Ἀχιλλεύς
5 γάρ, καὶ ὁ Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς στρα-
τηγῆσαντες, ἄριστα πολὺ τὸ κλέος τῆ συγγραφῆ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
νῦν ἀπηνέγκαντο· καὶ ὁ μὲν, Ὀμήρῳ, οἱ δέ γε Πλουτάρχῳ καὶ
ἄλλοις μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἄδονται καὶ φημίζονται· ὡς ἐν προσώπῳ
γούν ἢ μὲν ἀρχῇ ἰάμβων δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸν πάλαι Βασιλέα ἡμῶν·
10 τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπαίνων κεφάλαιον πρὸς τίνα, εἴση εὐθύς.

[Proem to Nikephoros Phokas]²⁴

O sun of *magistroi*²⁵ and avenger of Rome, I composed these [verses] about 261
Crete previously,²⁶ but they have not been delivered; [composed as they
were] lest your victorious accomplishments be surrendered to oblivion by
time—for what courage creates, time diminishes, unless words first record
[it] in books of some sort—[they have] not, however, been delivered, out of
fear and diffidence and because I am extremely inferior to and overwhelmed
by your accomplishments. | Receive then Theodosios's prattle, even if lack- 262
ing in worthiness, and permit [him] to write concerning [your] conquest
and capture of Aleppo.²⁷ For I who was so eager for your accomplishments
will thus become, to the best of my ability, the one who records them. For
Achilles and Alexander of Macedon and those who conducted most excel-
lent campaigns after them gained great glory even until now due to the
written record; and the one is sung of and praised even until now by Homer
and the rest by Plutarch and others. While on the face of it the beginning
of the iambic verses seems to pertain to our recent emperor,²⁸ to whom the
main point of [our] praise [pertains] you will straightaway know.

24 The following untitled prose preface appears in the manuscript preceding the poem. It rededicates somewhat awkwardly a poem initially composed (and left virtually unaltered) for the emperor Romanos II, whose untimely death (March 15, 963) left the poet without his expected patron.

25 On the high-ranking dignity see *ODB* 2:1267. Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.3 (Hase 1828, 7) refers to Nikephoros Phokas as “distinguished among *magistroi*.” As Phokas is not addressed as “emperor,” this prologue was apparently presented after the death of Romanos II, but prior to Phokas’s acclamation as emperor by the army on July 2, 963.

26 The phrase *πρὸ καιροῦ* used here appears twice in the New Testament (Mt. 8:29 and 1 Cor. 4:5) in the sense of “before the right time,” which may be implied here.

27 Nikephoros Phokas took Aleppo on December 23, 962; see Garrood 2008, 134.

28 Romanos II (r. November, 959–15 March, 963).

ΑΛΩΣΙΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ |

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ΠΟΝΗΘΕΙΣΑ
 ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥ
 ΤΩΙ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΤΑΙΩΙ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΡΩΜΗΣ.

ΑΚΡΟΑΣΙΣ Α΄.

- Ῥώμη παλαιά, μὴ φθόνει τὸν δεσπότην,
 τοὺς σοὺς στρατηγοὺς προσβαλοῦσα τῇ νέᾳ·
 κενὴ γὰρ ὄρμη, καὶ μάτην ὁ Σκηπίων,
 τὸν πλοῦτον ἐσκύλευσε τῆς δόξης ὄλον.
- 5 Ἴσχυς γὰρ ἦν τίς, ἢ κράτος Καρχηδόνος,
 ὅταν παρεστῶς μυριοξίφω μάχῃ,
 τὰς συμφορὰς ἔπεμπε τῇ πορθουμένῃ.
 Τίς ἦν ὁ Σύλλας ὁ θρασὺς στρατηγέτης,
 ὁ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τὴν κεκαυμένην πόλιν
- 10 βαλὼν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς σφαγῆς ἠττημένην; |
 τίς ἦν ὁ Καίσαρ ὁ στρατευμάτων τρέχων
 ἐν ταῖς ἀφύρτοις συμπλοκαῖς καθημέραν;
 τίς ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ κρατηθεὶς ἐν στόλῳ,
 καὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἀνταναλώσας ξύλῳ;
- 15 οὐκ ἦν στρατηγὸς ἄλλος, ὡς ὁ δεσπότης,
 κἂν πλουτολεκτῶν ἐκδραμῶν ὁ Πομπίος
 ὡς τῶν παραστῆ ταῖς μάχαις ὠπλισμένος,
 καὶ δῶ τὰ λαμπρὰ τῆς τύχης διπλὰ στέφη.
 Σὺ δὲ κτυπῶν, Ὅμηρε, κομπῶδεις κτύπους
- 20 ὑψῶν τὰ μικρά, δεῦρο μὴ κλέπτων λόγοις
 λάλει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡσύχως μετ' αἰσχύνης.
 Πορθήσεως γὰρ τῆς δεκαχρόνου κλόνος
 μικρὸς παρ' ἡμῖν ἄρτι, καὶ πλήρης ψόγων.

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THE CAPTURE OF CRETE COMPOSED BY THEODOSIOS, HUMBLE
DEACON, FOR THE BENEFICENT AND POWERFUL EMPEROR
ROMANOS.²⁹

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Recitation One

Old Rome, do not feel ill will towards [our] sovereign when you put your *strategoi* up against [that of] New [Rome].³⁰ For Scipio with [his] empty and vain attack plundered wealth that consisted entirely of reputation. For what strength or power did Carthage³¹ have when he came with myriad swords in battle and brought disaster upon the besieged city? Who was Sulla, the bold *strategetes*, the one attacking the burnt city of Athens, | overcome by the 264
slaughter itself?³² Who was the Caesar moving quickly every day in well-ordered military engagements? Who was that one conquered during a sea expedition and in return defeating his conquerors with wood?³³ There was no other *strategos* like our sovereign, even if Pompey gathering wealth, sailing forth, should stand here as if alive,³⁴ armed for battle, and give the dual bright crowns of fortune.³⁵ And you, Homer, making the boastful noise of battle resound, magnifying the insignificant, come, do not deceive us with [your] words, speak to us quietly with shame. For the turmoil of the ten-year siege is now insignificant to us, and full of flaws. For knowing the

29 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) 'Ρωμανῶ for the Bonn edition's 'Ρώμης.

30 i.e. Constantinople.

31 Perhaps a reference to Scipio Africanus's capture of New Carthage in Spain in 209 BC; see Panagiotakes 1960, 127, n. lines 3–7. According to Polybius 10.7, Scipio knew that the city was lightly garrisoned and that the three Carthaginian armies in Spain were all at least ten days' march away. Or it may refer to Scipio Aemilianus's capture in 146 of Carthage which had never fully recovered from the Second Punic War.

32 Sulla besieged Athens in 87–86 BC; the city was brutally sacked and many killed; see Plutarch, *Vit. Sull.*, chap. 14. The precise implication of Theodosios's description here is unclear; perhaps the suggestion is that Athens played no subsequent significant historical role (see Panagiotakes 1960, 127–128, n. lines 7–9).

33 Presumably Julius, who was captured by pirates whom he subsequently captured and crucified (cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Caes.*, chap. 2). See also below n. 77.

34 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) ζῶν for the Bonn edition's τῶν.

35 The implication of the passage is unclear. Is Pompey to award victory crowns to Romanos or is it a reference to his questionable tactics in elaborating his triumphs? See Panagiotakes 1960, 129, n. line 18. On the latter see Beard 2007, 13–14. The anonymous reader suggests perhaps crowns for both Romanos II and Nikephoros II Phokas.

- Τῆς Ἰλίου γὰρ τοὺς πορφυργίους δόμους
 25 ἐκ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς λειψάνων ἐγνωκότες,
 εἰς θαῦμα καὶ γέλωτα συμπεπτωκότες,
 πῆ μὲν γελῶμεν τῇ πλοκῇ τῶν ψευσμάτων,
 πῆ δ' αὖ κροτοῦμεν τῇ στροφῇ τῶν ῥημάτων.
 Ἄλλ', ὦ στρατηγῶν ὁ κρατήρ, ὁ μιγνύων
 30 πράξεις ταπεινάς εἰς ἐπηρμένους λόγους,
 δίκασον αὐτός, καὶ προσωποληψίαν
 ἀφείς παλαιάν, ὡς ζυγὸς γενοῦ σταθμοῦ·
 τοῦ δεσπότης δὲ καὶ θανῶν κρότει λόγους
 τὰς παντοπόμπους, καὶ σοφὰς στρατηγίας.
 35 Μικρὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ στρατὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
 μικραὶ φάλαγγες, ἀσθενεῖς στρατηγέται,
 Αἴας, Ἀχιλλεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς, Διομήδης,
 οἷς δόξα πολλή, καὶ θεῶν ψευδωνύμων
 ἢ συντριβὴ φέρουσα τὰς ὀμιλίας
 40 κακῶς κατεσπάραττεν ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων.
 Ἄλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι τῆς ἀληθείας τρίβους
 καλῶς βαδίζειν, ἢ κακῶς περιτρέχειν,
 ἐνταῦθα παῦε τῶν φόνων τῆς Ἰλίου,
 Κρήτης τραγωδῶν τὰς ῥοὰς τῶν αἰμάτων.
 45 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦκεν ὁ στρατὸς τοῦ δεσπότης
 πολλαῖς ταχείαις ὀλκάσι πεφραγμένος,
 ἢ γῆ μὲν ἐστέναζεν ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων,
 καὶ γειτονοῦσαν τὴν ὑγρὰν ἀπεστράφη.
 Ὅ δὲ στρατηγὸς ὁ σταλείς, Νικηφόρος,
 50 εἰδὼς ἑαυτὸν τῆς μάχης πρωτεργάτην

defensive³⁶ structures of Ilion from its remains³⁷ and experiencing amazement and laughter, how we smile at the web of your lies and how too we applaud your twisting of words. But, O concoction of *strategoï*, the one mingling humble actions in elevated verbiage, you yourself judge, and putting aside the ancient respect for persons,³⁸ be like the balance of a scale.³⁹ | Even though dead, applaud with words the sovereign's wise campaigns launched everywhere. For the army of Hellas was small in our eyes, small the phalanxes, weak the *strategetai*, Ajax, Achilles, Odysseus, Diomedes, who had great expectations, and whose relationship⁴⁰ with their falsely named gods and their interventions evilly tore them from their hopes. But if it seems good to you to walk rightly on the paths of truth rather than to stray from them in the wrong, cease at this point from the killings of Troy, and tell of the tragic streams of blood on Crete.

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For when the army of the sovereign arrived, fortified with many swift transport ships,⁴¹ the land of the barbarians groaned, and turned away from the neighbouring sea. The *strategos* who was sent, Nikephoros, knowing that he was to initiate the battle,⁴² deployed all⁴³ the phalanxes armed with

36 See *LBG* s.v. on *προπύργιος*, an apparent hapax.

37 On Ilion as a “backwater” in the Byzantine period see Sage 2000, 220 and Latacz 2005, 5.

38 Rom. 2:11 and Col. 3:25.

39 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *στά[θμης]* for the Bonn edition's *σταθμοῦ*.

40 Panagiotakes 1960, 130, n. lines 38–40 suggests that *συντριβή* is used for *συνδιατριβή* here.

41 Theodosios here oddly uses the term *ὄλας* which refers to a “merchant ship.” Theophanes Continuatus [475:20–22] gives 2000 *νήες* with liquid fire, 1000 *dromons* and 307 transport ships (*καράβια καματηρά*); Pseudo-Symeon [758:20–22] 2000 *chelandia* with liquid fire, 1000 *dromons*, and 360 transport ships (*καράβια καματηρά*). These figures are greatly exaggerated; see Christides 1984, 173–174 and Tsougarakis 1988, 62.

42 Theophanes Continuatus [476:5 ff.] and Pseudo-Symeon [759:2–3] also present the landing as unopposed, while Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.3 (Hase 1828, 7–8) describes an Arab force coming out of Chandax to confront (unsuccessfully) Nikephoros's troops; for discussion see Panagiotakes 1960, 48, Christides 1984, 177–178, and Tsougarakis 1988, 64–65. On the likely extensive influence of Prokopios (Belisarius's expedition to North Africa, including his unopposed landing) on Theophanes Continuatus's account of Phokas's Cretan expedition and hence its questionable accuracy, see Kaldellis 2015, 307. Theodosios the Deacon does not seem to be influenced by Prokopios and his indication of an unopposed landing is apparently an independently derived statement of that event.

43 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *ὄλας* for the Bonn edition's *ὄλους*.

ἔστησε τὰς φάλαγγας ἐγξίφους ὄλους,
 ἔστησε τάξεις, οὐλαμοὺς πυργοδρομοὺς.
 Ἔλαμψεν ἀσπίς, ἠκονομένη σπάθη·
 θώραξ κατ' ἐχθρῶν εἶχε τὰς λαμπηδόνας·
 55 δόρυ κρατηθὲν δεινὸν ἀντηύγει φόνον.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας εἶδεν ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων
 καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κυμάτων σεσωσμένους,
 μέσον σταθεὶς ἤνοιξε πρὸς Θεὸν στόμα· |
 “Ἴδου τὸ σὸν στράτευμα τοῖς ἐναντίων
 60 ὄροις παρεστώς, δημιουργεῖ κτισμάτων·
 τῶν σῶν κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἦρε τὴν πανοπλίαν,
 καὶ σὲ προβάλλει μυρίων πυργωμάτων
 λύοντα δεσμοὺς εὐκλεᾶ στρατηγέτην.
 Πλάτυνον αὐτῶν εἰς μάχην τὰς καρδίας·
 65 δίωξον αὐτοῖς τὴν πικρὰν δειλανδρίαν·
 αἴσχυνον ἐχθρῶν τῶν προφητῶν τοὺς λόγους·
 δεῖξον Πέτρος τίς, καὶ τίς ὁ ψευδοπλόκος,
 ὁ τὰς καμήλους ἐσθίειν ἐπιτρέπων,
 ὁ πορνομύστας ἐκτελῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους,
 70 ψευδοπροφήτης ἐκφανεῖς πανουργία.”
 Οὕτω βοήσας, καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα
 δημηγορῶν ἔλεξε τοῖς συνεργάταις·
 “ἄνδρες, στρατηγοί, τέκνα, σύνδουλοι, φίλοι,
 Ἔρωμης τὰ νεῦρα, δεσπότης πιστοὶ φίλοι—
 75 οὗτος γὰρ ὑμᾶς τέκνα καὶ φίλους ἔχει,
 λόγοις παραινῶν, οὐκ ἀναγκάζων πόνοις—
 ὁρᾶτε τοῦσδε τοὺς ἀλιδρόμους τόπους·
 ὁρᾶτε πολλὰς ἡμέρους νήσους πέριξ·
 Ἔρωμης ὑπῆρχον πατρικῆς κατοικία,
 80 καὶ δεσποτῶν γῆ· πλὴν παρερπύσας ὄκνος,
 καὶ νωθρότης, ἔδειξε γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν,
 τρέφουσιν ἐχθροὺς καὶ στερουμένην τέκνων.
 Ἴωμεν ἀνθ' ὧν εὐσθενῶς πρὸς βαρβάρους·
 λάβωμεν αὐτῶν ἐν ξίφει καὶ τὰς πόλεις, |
 85 καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὰ τῶν τέκνων τέκνα.
 Μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὰς βολὰς τῶν βαρβάρων·
 μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τραῦμα φλεγμαῖνον μάχης·
 μηδεὶς τὸ πικρὸν, τὴν τελευταίαν βλάβην.
 Ἄν γὰρ τὸ λουτρόν τις λαβὼν ἡμαγμένον
 90 εἰς αἶμα λουθῇ τῶν ὑβριστῶν βαρβάρων,

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swords, and deployed the units, throngs of men overrunning towers.⁴⁴ Shield gleamed, sharpened sword [gleamed], corslet radiated against the enemy; brandished spear was flashing terrible slaughter.

When he saw all safe from the waters and the greatest waves, | he stood 266
in their midst and addressed God: “Behold, having positioned Your army at
the boundaries of the enemy, Creator of creation, he⁴⁵ [Romanos] has raised
the panoply against Your enemy, and proposes You as the glorious *Strategetes*
loosing the fastenings of myriad towers.⁴⁶ Open their hearts for battle, ban-
ish from them bitter cowardice, bring shame upon the words of the prophets
of the enemy, show who is Peter,⁴⁷ and who the weaver of falsehoods, the
one encouraging the eating of camels,⁴⁸ the one initiating the barbarians
into fornication,⁴⁹ revealed as a false prophet by [his] evil actions.”

So he spoke, and taking a shield he addressed his comrades, saying: “Sol-
diers,⁵⁰ children, fellow servants, friends, sinews of Rome, faithful friends
of the sovereign—for he [Romanos] considers you his children and friends,
exhorting you with words, not compelling you with toils—behold these sea-
girt places, behold the many lovely islands round about. They were the settle-
ment of ancestral Rome, the land of [our] sovereigns, but sluggishness and
torpor crept over us and rendered the land alien, nourishing the enemy and
bereft of [our] children. Let us go therefore stoutly against the barbarians, | 267
let us seize their cities by the sword, and their women and children’s chil-
dren. Let no one fear the shafts of the barbarians, let no one fear the inflamed
wounds of battle, no one the bitter, the final harm. For should anyone taking
the bloody bath be bathed in the blood of the arrogant barbarians, he washes

44 For *πυργοδρόμος* here, a term not found elsewhere, see *LBG*, “Türme überrennend.” The preceding term *οὐλαμός* is used in Homer for a “throng” of warriors, in Prokopios for a cavalry “squadron.” Precise relationship to actual Byzantine formations is uncertain, but for the suggestion that the phrase refers to a cavalry squadron moving in squared or oblong formation see Andriollo 2011, 40 with n. 18.

45 The emperor Romanos.

46 Foggini 1777, 535 suggests an allusion to the destruction of the walls of Jericho (Josh. 6).

47 i.e. the first Apostle.

48 In contrast to the prohibition in the Jewish Law (Deut. 14:7), although the latter did not apply to Christians.

49 Presumably a reference to Muslim polygamy.

50 Panagiotakes 1960, 131–132, n. line 72 notes that here and occasionally below Theodosios employs the terms for general officers, *στρατηγός*, *στρατηγέτης*, and *στρατάρκης*, for the simple soldier. I have followed his identifications of these instances.

πλύνει τὸ σῶμα ταῖς ῥοαῖς τῶν αἱμάτων,
 καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐκ γῆς αἵρεται νικηφόρος.
 Εἰ δ' ἔστιν αὐτὸς τέκνα, καὶ κλήρους ἔχων,
 πατῆρ ὄπισθεν δεσπότης λελεγεμένος,
 95 ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῦ φροντίσει, καὶ τῶν τέκνων,
 καὶ τῆς γυναικός· τοῦτο μὴ δεδοικέτω.
 Μόνον κρατεῖτω συμπλοκαῖς τὴν ἀσπίδα·
 μόνον προθύμως ὀξὺ τεινέτω δόρυ·
 μόνον φανείτω πατρικὸς ὦπλισμένος·
 100 μόνον τὸ Ῥώμης μὴ καθυβρίση κράτος."
 Τούτοις πτερώσας τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς οἰκέτας
 ἀνὴρ ὁ πιστὸς ἐν μάχαις Νικηφόρος,
 λέοντας ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς ὀρειτρόφους,
 105 πᾶσαν κλονοῦντας Κρητικὴν κακουργίαν,
 οὐ μὴν παρέργως, ἢ στρατηγέτου δίχα.
 Μέσον γὰρ αὐτὸς ἵπποτῶν ἐζωσμένος
 τανύστομον μάχαιραν ἠκονημένην,
 πῆ μὲν πατάσσω εἶπετο ξενοτρόπως,
 πῆ δ' αὖ τὸ πῦρ μάλιστα βάλλων οἰκίαις.
 110 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἀντὶ θηρίων, |
 ἐκεῖθεν ἔνθεν λοιμικῶς ἠπλωμένοι,
 ἦν θρήνον οἰκτρὸν καὶ φυγὴν βλέπειν τότε,
 καὶ θαῦμα πικρὸν συμφορὰς ἐναντίας.
 Ἐκειτο καὶ γὰρ πλήθος εἰς κόνιν μίαν
 115 ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν δυστυχῶς ἐσφαγμένων.
 Ἐκεῖ τὰ τέκνα πρὸς σφαγὴν ἠπειγμένα
 ἔπιπτον εἰς γῆν τῇ ποδῶν περικλάσει.
 Ἐκεῖ γέροντες τῷ χρόνῳ κεκυφότες
 ὄλισθον εἶχον ἐμποδῶν πεπτωκότες,
 120 καὶ φοινικὴν ἔβαπτεν τὸ ξίφος τρίχα,
 ἦν εἶχε λευκὴν ὁ χρόνος βεβαμμένην·
 ἐκεῖ γυναῖκες ἀγκαλῶν κάτω βρέφη
 ἔρριπτον εἰς γῆν, καὶ γονῆς ἀστοργίαν
 κίνδυνος ἀντήγειρε ταῖς τεκνοτρόφοις.
 125 Ἀνήπτο καὶ πῦρ, ἀντέλαμπε τὰ ξίφη,
 ἐπορφύρου γῆν ἢ ῥοὴ τῶν αἱμάτων,
 καὶ Κρητικοῖς ἦν τοῖς τόποις μεμιγμένη,
 ὡς χρῶμα καινόν, τρίχροος τιμωρία.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κρητῶν δεῖπνον οἱ μὲν ὀρνέων
 130 ἔκειντο νεκροὶ καὶ πνοῆς ἐξηγμένοι,

his body with the streams of blood and he is raised from the earth, a bright bringer of victory.⁵¹ If he has children and a farm, the chosen sovereign, as thereafter a father, will care for him, for his children, for his wife; let him have no fear about this. Only let him strike with his shield in the frays, only let him extend his sharp spear eagerly, only let him show himself armed like a Roman, only let him not sully the power of Rome.”

Having roused his followers with these words, Nikephoros, a man faithful in battle, sent them forth like mountain lions,⁵² driving into confusion all Cretan evildoing, not indeed superficially, or without a *strategetes*. For he himself followed in the midst of the cavalry equipped with a long sharp sword, here smiting [the enemy] in extraordinary fashion, there applying fire like a whip to the buildings. |

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When all were sprawled out like wild animals from this side and that like a plague, one could then see pitiful lament and flight, and a bitter wonder, the enemy's destruction. For indeed a multitude of ill-starred men, women lay slaughtered in one heap of dust. And here children hastening to slaughter fell to the earth as their feet gave way. There old men bent with age slipped and fell in the way and the sword dyed red their hair that age had dyed white. There women threw babies down from their arms to the ground, and danger built up instead a lack of affection for offspring in the nourishers of children. Fire blazed up and swords flashed, the flow of blood dyed the earth red and was mixed in Cretan lands like a new hue, tricolour⁵³ vengeance. While corpses of some Cretans bereft of breath lay there, dinner for birds, others

51 Phokas here seems to be indicating that those who died in battle against the Muslims would be martyrs. For an analysis of Phokas's unsuccessful request to have such martyrdom officially sanctioned by the church see Riedel 2015.

52 Theophanes Continuatus [476:7] and Vat. gr. 163, chap. 19:6 describe Phokas's initial military action as a "marauding expedition" (λοῦρσον). Theodosios appears to give an elaboration of that here.

53 Foggini 1777, 537 explains this as consisting of the blood of old men, children, and women; Panagiotakes 1960, 133, n. line 128 thinks more likely the colours of the fire, the iron of the swords, and the streams of blood. Perhaps the Trinitarian views of the poet lead him to strain his analogy.

ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν νέκρωσιν ἵππικῶ τάχει
 φυγόντες εἰσήγοντο τῶν πυλῶν ἔσω,
 ὁ μὲν, πατήσας τῶν πυλῶν ἔνδον φόβῳ
 ἔρεγγεν ἐχθρὸς τῇ φυγῇ πεπνιγμένος.
 135 Ὅ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐκδραμῶν χώραν ὄλην,
 καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰς πῦρ τμητικῶς περισχίσας, |
 τὴν δὲ ξίφει δούς, καὶ κατασκάψας πόλεις,
 ἤλαυνεν εὐθύς εἰς στροφὴν ὀπισθίως,
 καὶ θάπτον ἐλθῶν, ναυτικῶν ὀρισμάτων
 140 ἔνδον κατεκράτησε τὸν στρατὸν μόλις.
 Καὶ ναῦς ἀνάψας, γῆ χαρίζεται φέρων,
 ἄπιστον εἰδῶς τὴν ὑγρὰν εὐεργέτην.
 Ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας ἡμερῶν τριῶν κύκλους,
 τὴν ἵππον ἠτοίμαζε καὶ τὸν ἵππότην,
 145 καὶ γῆν σκοπήσας ἀμφιδεξίῳ τρόπῳ,
 ἔστησε πλήθος χιλιάνδρον τεκτόνων,
 καὶ γῆθεν ἐρρίζωσε πυργηρουμένην
 πόλιν, φυλάττειν τὰς στροφὰς στρατευμάτων.
 Ὅμηρε δεῦρο, καὶ πάλιν μετ' αἰσχύνης
 150 Ἑλληνικὰς κήρυσσε τὰς τειχουργίας,
 ἃς Ἐκτορος χεῖρ καὶ βολὴ καταστρέφει
 ἀραχνοειδῶς τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐκτισμένας.
 Ὡς οὖν καμίνους οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τεκτόνων
 περιφλεγούσαις ἀντανήπτον ταῖς λίθοις,
 155 οἱ δὲ στροφὰς ἔπασχον ἀνθελιγμάτων,
 τοῖς μαγγάνοις βάλλοντες εἰς βάθρον πέτρας·
 οἱ Κρητικοὶ δράκοντες οἱ λοφοδρόμοι
 ἐκ τῶν φαράγγων ἐκδραμόντες, εἰς μίαν
 βουλήν συνηθορίζοντο τὴν αὐτόκτονον,
 160 καὶ τῷ στρατῷ μὲν συμβαλεῖν οὐκ εὐτύχουν· |
 ἔπληττειν αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατὸς γὰρ ὡς βέλος.
 τοῖς τέκτοσι δὲ προσβαλόντες ὀξέως,
 πίπτουσιν εἰς γῆν τῇ βολῇ τῶν τεκτόνων.
 Ὅ σὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς στρατηγέτης πόθος
 165 ἔπειθε τὴν δίκελλαν εἰς ξίφος τρέπειν·
 καὶ γίνεται ῥοὺς ἐκχυθεὶς τῶν αἱμάτων
 εἰς πλησμονὴν ἄπειρον ὕδατουμένην,
 καὶ τὰς καμίνους σβεννύει τὰς ἐμπύρους,
 ὥσπερ χαράδρας εἰσπεσοῦσα πικρία.
 170 Λαβῶν δὲ τὴν ἄσβεστον, εἶχεν ὁ κτίσων

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fled death on swift horses and were admitted into the gates, and the enemy passed inside the gates wheezing with fear, choked up by his flight. The *strategos* sallied everywhere, | and cutting and cleaving his way he consigned one [place] to fire, another to the sword, destroying cities, and straightway he 269
turned back around. And going quickly he secured his army with difficulty within the boundaries of the anchorage, and after beaching and making the ships fast on land he rejoiced, knowing that the water is a faithless benefactor. He remained there for a period of three days, and readied horses and riders, and, after careful reconnaissance of the land, he stationed a multitude of 1000 craftsmen and raised from the earth a towered city⁵⁴ to safeguard the returning expeditions. Come Homer, and again with shame herald the Hellenic wall building, which, constructed like spider-webs for the armies, Hector's hand and throw overturned.⁵⁵

And so now some of the craftsmen fired up lime kilns⁵⁶ with burning stones, others directed⁵⁷ turning of the counter-windings,⁵⁸ placing rocks onto foundations with machines.⁵⁹ The hill-roaming Cretan serpents sallied from their ravines and joined in a single self-destructive plan | and they were 270
unsuccessful in engaging [our] army. For like a missile [our] army terrified them. The [Cretans] quickly attacked the craftsmen and fell to earth at the craftsmen's [counter]attack. Their affection for you [Romanos] as their *strategetes* persuaded them to turn rakes into swords. The flow of blood poured forth to boundless, flooded satiety and quenched the fiery kilns, like the descending bitterness of a mountain torrent. The builder taking

54 Theophanes Continuatus [476:5] and Pseudo-Symeon [759:3] indicate that Phokas constructed a "palisade and deep ditch" (χάρακα και τάφρον βαθείαν) and Vat. gr. 163, chap. 19:5–6 "a deep ditch" (τάφρον βαθείαν). Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.9 (Hase 1828, 16) says he fortified the camp "with a stockade and a ditch" (ἐρκίω και ταφρείω). Theodosios's description here seems best taken as poetic exaggeration. On Byzantine military camps see McGeer 1995, 350–354.

55 The construction of the Achaean wall is described in Homer *Il.* 7.436–441, and Hector's attack on it (he throws a huge rock and breaks the gates) at Homer *Il.* 12.442–471.

56 On lime kilns and lime mortar see Ousterhout 1999, 133–134.

57 Accepting Jacobs's (1828) conjecture, ἐπίστρον.

58 Presumably a reference to pulleys. For an illustration of pulleys being used in construction in a Middle Byzantine psalter (illustrating Psalm 95) see Ousterhout 1999, 45.

59 Presumably a reference to cranes.

φοινικοειδεὶ τῶν πετρῶν τῇ συνθέσει.
 Κάλει στρατηγὲ τὴν πόλιν φοινικίαν,
 φοινίσσεται γὰρ τῇ βαφῇ τῶν αἱμάτων.

- 175 Ὡς οὖν στρατηγῶν ὁ κρατῶν Νικηφόρος
 ἔγνω τὸ συμβάν—καὶ γὰρ ἠγνῶει τότε—
 πέμψας κατέσχε ζῶντας ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων
 ὄφεις πονηροὺς πέντε πεντακοντάδας.
 Βαλῶν δὲ κλοιοὺς εἰς ἀκαμπεῖς αὐχένας,
 τούτοις παρεῖχε πατρικὰς τὰς ἀξίας.
- 180 Κρήτη, τὰ τέκνα, βαρβαροτρόφε, βλέπε,
 οἴων μετέσχον ἀξιωματῶν ἄφνω.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μοῖραν εἶχε νύξ τὴν ἐβδόμην,
 τῆς εὐφρόνης γὰρ τὸ σκότος παρεκράτει,
 σάλπιγγας ἠλάλαξαν ἐν βοῇ ξένη,
- 185 καὶ πᾶς κρατῶν ἦν σὺν βοῇ τὴν ἀσπίδα,
 πεζός, στρατηγός, ταξιάρχης, ἱππότης. |
 Τῆς ἡμέρας δὲ τῆς ῥοδόχρου λαμπάδας
 ἐκ τῶν σκοτεινῶν ἀνταναψάσης πόρων,
 φάλαγξ ἀνῶμων ἱππικῆ ξιφηφόρος,
- 190 ἔχουσα πλήθος μυριάνδρου πεντάδος·
 πεζῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἦν ὄραν πανοπλίαν
 κινουμένην ἄριστα τακτικῇ βάσει,
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ὥσπερ ἐν ποιίμνῃ μέσον
 βαίνοντας ἀρνῶν θηροβάχκους ποιμένας.
- 195 Ὡς δὲ κλοπῇ χαίροντες ἄρπαγες λύκοι
 χειμῶνος ὥρα καὶ παρεκτάσει κρύους,
 ὁμοῦ ζυγέντες τῶν ὤρων ὁμοφρόνως
 μάνδρας κλονοῦσι, καὶ βιάζουσι κύνας·
 οὕτω ζυγέντες οἱ κλάδοι τῶν σῶν πόνων
- 200 ἱππεῖς, στρατάρχαι, τοξόται, λοχοκράται
 πύργους βαλεῖν ἔσπευδον ἐν τάχει κάτω,
 θυμοῦ πνέοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ κρῆες ζάλης.
 Ὁ λαμπάδας δὲ φωσφόρους, κακοχρόους,
 καιροῖς ἀνίσχων, καὶ καταστέλλων πάλιν,
- 205 λουτροῖς κατημαύρωσε τὰς λαμπηδόνας,
 καὶ νύξ τὸ πέπλον ἐκ βάφης μελαγχρόου
 εἰς πάντα γῆς ἠπλωσε καὶ πόλου μέρη.
 Τῶν σῶν δὲ πλήθος οὐ στρατῶν, ἢ θηρίων—
 θῆρες γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς σπαραγμοῖς βαρβάρων—
- 210 τὸν ὕπνον εἶχε τὴν βάσιν καὶ τὴν στάσιν.

blood-red lime had it for joining the stones. *Strategos*, call the city Phoinikia,⁶⁰ for it is rendered red, dyed with blood.

When therefore the *strategos*, the commander Nikephoros, saw what had taken place—for he was unaware [of this] at that point—he sent for and confined the surviving evil barbarian snakes, 250 of them, and put collars on their unbending necks, furnishing them hereditary honours.⁶¹ Crete, nourisher of barbarians, behold in what honours your children suddenly shared. But when night had its seventh portion—for the darkness of evening held on—they sounded the trumpets with a strange cry, and everyone brandished his shield with a shout, | infantry soldier,⁶² *taxiarches*, cavalryman. As rosy day kindled her torches, in contrast out of the paths of darkness a cavalry phalanx armed with swords set forth, a multitude of 50,000.⁶³ One could see a panoply of many infantry moving most excellently in ordered array, and the *strategoi* like shepherds, mad to hunt wild animals moving in the middle of a flock of sheep. Just as rapacious wolves, delighting in theft, in the winter season when frost extends itself, joined together with one intent attack mountain⁶⁴ pens and assault the dogs, so were the scions of your efforts joined: cavalry, soldiers,⁶⁵ archers, unit commanders,⁶⁶ eager to bring down towers quickly, breathing anger, like mountain peaks⁶⁷ of storm. But the one who raises the light-bringing, beautifully coloured⁶⁸ torches at the appropriate times, and again lowers them, darkened their rays in the waters, and night spread its darkly dyed cloak over all of the earth and portions of the sky. The multitude, not of your army, rather of wild beasts—for these were beasts of prey for rending the barbarians—marched and stood without sleep.⁶⁹

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- 60 The name continues in use for an area southwest of Herakleion and thus provides identification of the location of Phokas's encampment; see Panagiotakes 1960, 57–58. Theodosios refers to the Murex dye for which the Phoenicians were famous.
- 61 To explain the collars, Panagiotakes 1960, 135 n. lines 178–179 suggests that they are slaves, since they are descendants of Abraham's slave Hagar.
- 62 See above n. 50.
- 63 The number is unlikely and either an exaggeration or a scribal error.
- 64 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) ὄρων for the Bonn edition's ὠρών.
- 65 See above n. 50.
- 66 Given the preceding list of ordinary soldiers, Panagiotakes 1960, 136, n. line 200 suggests emending here to λογχοκράται (= λογχοφόροι), "spear carriers."
- 67 Accepting Jacobs's (1828) conjecture ἄκριες. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 9.400: δι' ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας ("among windy peaks").
- 68 Accepting Jacobs's (1828) conjecture, καλοχρόους.
- 69 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) ἄγρυπνον for the Bonn edition's τὸν ὕπνον.

Εἰ δ' ἦν κλαπεῖς τις εἰς ἀμερίμνους ὕπνους,
 ἐκεῖ παρεστῶς ἐξ ὄνειράτων πύλης, |
 τοιαῦτα φωνῶν, τῆς βλάβης ἀνεστόμους·
 “τί τὸν στρατηγὸν οὐ δεδοικῶς, ἰππότα,
 215 μέσον σφαγῆς πέπτωκας εἰς ξένους τόπους,
 ὅπου τροπή, κίνδυνος ἐστομωμένος,
 πνέει καθ' ἡμῶν φλεγμονὰς πυρεκβόλους;
 μικρόν τι καρτέρησον, ἐμβάλῳν κράνος,
 ὑπὲρ θυῶν ἴστασο καὶ τῆς δίκης.
 220 Ἄφες τὸν ὕπνον, καὶ κράτει τὴν ἀσπίδα,
 μὴ γνῶ τὸ συμβάν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς μάχης.”
 Οὕτω τὸ νωθρὸν ἐξέκοπτες ἐργάτου,
 εἶπερ παρῆν τις νωθρότης τοῖς οἰκέταις.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ φῶς ἡμέρα προμηνύειν
 225 λευκοῖς χιτῶσιν ἤρξατο ζοφοφθόρος,
 πέπλοις δὲ λαμπροῖς ἐστόλισεν αἰθέρα,
 ἦν γῆν θεωρεῖν λευκόμορφον, καὶ μάχης
 κήρυκα τῶν σῶν ἐκδραμεῖν στρατευμάτων,
 τεῖχει μὲν ἀκρῶ τὴν φάλαγγα προσξέειν
 230 ἐπεισπεσοῦσαν τῶν ἐναντίων ἄφνω.
 Ἐκεῖ τὸ πλήθος τῶν φερεκλοίων ἅπαν
 τάξας στρατηγὸς τμητικῶς ἀναρπάσαι,
 οἱ συστρατάρχαι τῆς πικρᾶς ἀλγηδόνος
 τὸ συμβάν οὐκ ἦνεγκον, ἀλλὰ τὰς θύρας
 235 ἤνοιξαν, ἐξέπτησαν ἀντὶ στρουθίων,
 καὶ πρὸς τάφρον πλήξαντες ἀντανακλάσει,
 τὴν τάφρον ἀντέβαινον, ἀλλ' ἐμπροσθίως
 πληγέντες, ἐξήλανον ἐξοπισθίως. |
 Ὡς οὖν φυγῆς ἦν, καὶ τρόμου, καὶ δειλίας
 240 δεινὸς χαρακτήρ, καὶ ταχύστροφος κλόνος,
 ἢ τάφρος αὐτῆ τῶν ἐναντίων τάφος,
 καὶ συμφορᾶς ἦν ἀστέγαστος οἰκία.
 Εἶχον γὰρ αὐτοὶ συμποδιστὰς καὶ τόπους,
 οὔσπερ κατεσκεύαζον εἰς σωτηρίαν,
 245 ὥς ἂν μάθωσιν ἐξ ἀναισθήτων τόπων
 τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν ὑβρισμένων.
 Τίς ἂν προφήτης εὐρεθεὶς πρὸ τῆς μάχης
 τοῖς ταφρορύκταις εἶπεν ἂν τῶν βαρβάρων,
 ὥς τύμβον ἐξώρυττον, οὐ τάφρον, τέκνοις;
 250 ἄνικμε Κρήτη, μὴ στένης ἀνομβρίαν,

But if anyone fell stolen away into carefree sleep, | you [Romanos], standing there at the gate of dreams speaking as follows, were warning of the harm: “Why with no fear of your *strategos*, cavalry man, do you fall asleep in the midst of slaughter in foreign territory, where a retreat, the acutest danger, breathes ballistic fiery heat⁷⁰ against us? Show a little steadfastness, putting on your helmet; take a stand for God⁷¹ and justice. Throw off sleep and wield your shield, lest the *strategos* of the battle learn what happened.” 272

Thus you [Romanos] put an end to the worker’s slothfulness, if there was slothfulness among your servants. But when day, destroyer of gloom, with her white tunics began to give early signs of light and adorned the upper air with bright robes, one could see the earth white in form, and a herald of battle running through your armies,⁷² but the phalanx was scraping at the high wall,⁷³ after falling suddenly on the enemy. There the *strategos* ordered the entire multitude of collared [Arabs] dragged and decapitated and their fellow soldiers⁷⁴ did not bear⁷⁵ the fact of the bitter pain, but they opened the doors and flew out like sparrows, and having struck out against the moat in reflexive action they surmounted it, but | when struck head-on they retreated back. So then terrible was the image of flight, trembling, cowardice; there was quick-turning confusion, the moat itself was the grave of the enemy, a house of ruin providing no shelter. For they had as impediments the very places that they prepared for their safety, so that they might learn from insensate places that their faith was worthy of being vilified.⁷⁶ What prophet consulted before the battle might have told the barbarian moat diggers that they were digging a grave for their children, not a moat? Dry Crete, do not bemoan your lack of rain, learning that your children were clouds in 273

70 See below Theodosios the Deacon [303:2] for the same phrase.

71 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) θεοῦ [γάρ] for the Bonn edition’s θυῶν.

72 Panagiotakes 1960, 137 n. lines 227–228 suggests the possible loss of a line here.

73 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) [δὲ] μακρῶ for the Bonn edition’s μὲν ἀκρῶ.

74 See above n. 50.

75 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) ἤνεγκαν for the Bonn edition’s ἤνεγκον.

76 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) ὑβρισμάτων for the Bonn edition’s ὑβρισμένων.

τὰ τέκνα λαμβάνουσα τῇ μάχῃ νέφη,
 ἐν οἷς ἐπελθὼν ὡς πνοὴ Ῥώμης δόρυ,
 καὶ πνεύσαν, ὥσπερ συστροφὴ τις, τοὺς φόνους
 ὄμβρους ἀφήκεν αἱμάτων πολυῤῥύτων.
 255 Δημόσθενες, Φίλιππος οὐκ ἔχει κράτος·
 Πλούταρχε, Καίσαρ οὐκ ἔχει παρῤῥησίαν·
 Δίων, ὁ Σύλλας εἰς μάτην Δημοκράτωρ·
 ἄφες, Ξενοφῶν, τοὺς ἀνικητούς γράφειν·
 τὸν Ῥωμανὸν θαύμαζε καὶ μόνον γράφε.
 260 Κύζικε συνθρήνησον, ἢ κεκαυμένη
 Κρήτη παθοῦσα συμφορὰς ἰσοκρατεῖς.
 Σοὶ γὰρ παλαιὸς τοὺς φόνους Μιθριδάτης,
 νέος γε ταύτῃ Ῥωμανὸς πλέκει φόνους. |
 Ἄλλ' ὦ στρατηγέ γῆς ὅλης, καὶ γὰρ πρέπει
 265 τὸ μέλλον εἰπεῖν, μὴ φθόνει τὸν οἰκέτην
 κροτοῦντα τὰς σὰς νικοσυνθέτους μάχας,
 τράνου δὲ γλώτταν, δὸς παρῤῥησίαν λόγου·
 πλήττει γὰρ ἡμᾶς κέντρῳ τῆς ἀτολμίας.
 Θεοδοσίου μὴ παραβλέψῃς πόνους,
 τοῦ στέμματός σου συγγραφέντας εἰς κλέος,
 ὡς ἂν βαδίξῃ χεὶρ γράφειν ἠπειγμένη
 272 πρὸς δευτέραν σου τοῦ στρατοῦ πανοπλίαν.

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ΑΚΡΟΑΣΙΣ Β΄.

Οὕτως ἐχόντων Κρητικῶν παλαισμάτων,
 Ῥώμης τὸ κάλλος, Ῥωμανὲ σκηπτοκράτορ,
 οἱ μὲν κακῶς ἔπασχον ἐν ξένοις τόποις,
 εἰς καῦμα καὶ μάχαιραν ἀνθρωπισμένοι.
 5 Τὰς γὰρ φλογώδεις λαμπάδας βελῶν δίκην
 ἔπεμπε τοῖς σοῖς οἰκέταις ὁ φωσφόρος.
 Αὐτὸς δὲ καῦμα καὶ ξίφος τὰς φροντίδας
 εἶχες δι' αὐτοὺς ἔνδον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ.
 Ὡς οὖν τὸ πῦρ σε τῆς ἀγρυπνίας φλέγον
 10 ὠχρὰν ἐποίει τὴν ἔναστρόν σου θέαν,
 οὐκ εἶχον εἰπεῖν οἱ βλέποντες αἰτίαν,
 πῶς σου τὸ φαιδρὸν εἰς στυγρὸν μετετρέπη· |
 ἕως στενάξας ἐμπόνως ἐξ ἐγκάτων,
 φλογμοὺς ἀφήκας τῶν κάτω πυρσευμάτων,

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battle, against which the spear of Rome, attacking like a wind and blowing murder like a sudden storm, dispatched as showers of much-flowing blood. Demosthenes, Philip had no power. Plutarch, Caesar had no boldness.⁷⁷ Dio, Sulla was a dictator in vain. Xenophon, cease writing of the invincible.⁷⁸ Be in awe of Romanos and write of him alone.⁷⁹ Kyzikos, join in the lament, you who suffered equally mixed misfortunes like those of fire-ravaged Crete. For Mithridates⁸⁰ of old [wove] killing for you, as | the new Romanos weaves killing for her. 274

But O *strategos* of all [the earth]—for indeed it is appropriate to speak of what is to come—do not feel ill will towards your servant who is applauding your victory-creating battles. Let his tongue be clear, grant him freedom of speech. For the goads⁸¹ of timidity strike us. Do not overlook the labours of Theodosios, written for the glory of your crown, so that his hand that is eager to write may proceed to a second panoply of your army.

[Recitation Two]

The struggles in Crete being such, beauty of Rome, sceptred sovereign⁸² Romanos, they suffered in foreign lands, arrayed in arms against fire and sword—for Lucifer sent fiery-hot torches like missiles against your servants—but you yourself had thoughts of fire and sword in your heart on their account. When therefore the fire of watchfulness that inflamed you rendered your starry countenance pale, those who saw could not name the cause, | how your radiance was changed to gloom. While you groaned painfully from deep within, you emitted flames of inner ardour, telling the facts to all your 275

77 Plutarch, *Vit. Caes.*, chap. 3.1 says Caesar's pirate captors were surprised by his bold outspokenness toward them. See another reference to Caesar and the pirates above, n. 33.

78 Perhaps a reference to Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1.17 where he says the Achaean heroes and those who followed them "made Greece invincible" (ὥστε ἀνίκητον τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρέχουσθαί).

79 These lines are translated by Hussey 1937, 28 in a discussion of Theodosios's knowledge of classical authors and preference for Christian interpretations.

80 Mithridates VI of Pontos besieged Kyzikos, a town allied with Rome, in 73 BC; see Plutarch, *Vit. Luc.*, chaps. 9–12. Fires at Kyzikos are not mentioned in Theodosios's likely sources, Plutarch and Dio Cassius, and notably that siege was not successful and Lucullus's troops saved the city.

81 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) κέντρα for the Bonn edition's κέντρα.

82 The term σκηπτοκράτωρ is first attested in Theodosios; it is also found again below, Theodosios the Deacon [285:271].

- 15 λέγων τὸ πρᾶγμα πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.
 Ἔπληττε γάρ σε πατρικῶν στρατευμάτων
 πληθὺς σταλείσα τοῖς ὁμοστόλοις πόνοις.
 Ἄλλ' οὐ παρῆν σοι ψυχαγωγῶν οἰκέτης·
 πᾶσι γὰρ ἦν ἄγνοια τῶν πεπραγμένων.
- 20 Θεὸς δὲ τὴν σὴν θλίψιν εἰς εὐθυμίαν
 θάττον μετεσκεύασεν, ὃς παραυτίκα
 τὸν ἄγγελόν σοι δεικνύει νικηφόρον
 ἔκ τοῦ μάχαιραν δουλικῶς ἐζωσμένου.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν νοῦν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἔγνωσ,
- 25 ἐπιστολὴν γὰρ εἶχεν ἐσφραγισμένην,
 οὐ τὴν λύραν ἔκρουσας, ὡς Δαβὶδ πάλαι,
 ἢ γλῶτταν ἐτράνωσας ἀντὶ τῆς λύρας·
 εὐθύς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν μονοτρόπων·—
 φάλαγξ γὰρ αὕτη καὶ ξίφους χωρὶς τρέπει
- 30 κλίνει τὰ νῶτα, καὶ καταστρέφει πόλεις·—
 ταύτη κατ' ἐχθρῶν μυστικῶς ἐπεκρότεις,
 καὶ παννύχους δέδωκας εὐχαριστίας
 τῇ συστρατηγοῦ προσδραμῶν κατοικίᾳ.
 Τοιαῦτα μὲν σὺ συμπονῶν τοῖς οἰκέταις.
- 35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποινῆς ἐξεπληρώθη στόμα,
 ποινὴ γὰρ ἐχθροῖς τῆς σφαγῆς ἢ πικρία,
 τὴν τάφρον εἰδῶς ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς μάχης |
 κρημνοὺς ἔχουσαν καὶ φαραγγῶδεις τόπους
 βαλεῖν πέτρας ἔταξε, καὶ γῆν, καὶ ξύλον,
- 40 ὀδοιπορήσαι τὰς χελώνας εὐκόλως.
 Ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος εἶχε τῶν προσταγμάτων
 ἔργον τὸ λεχθέν· ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναντίων
 νέφη παρείχον αἰ βολαὶ τεταγμέναι.
 Ἄηρ λάλησον, μαρτύρει, μὴ διστάσης,
- 45 τοῦ σοῦ χιτώνος τὴν ὑφανθείσαν κρόκην,
 ἐν ἣ στολισθεὶς ἀντανέκλασας βλάβην
 ἔκ τῶν ἀδῆλων συμφορῶν ὑφασμένην,
 δι' ἧς ἐπιπτον τῶν ἐπάλλξεων κάτω
 οἱ τὴν ὄφρυν ἔχοντες ἄρπαγες κύνες.
- 50 Ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν ἡμερῶν ὀκτῶ μέχρι
 ὁ τῆς χαράδρας ὄμβρος οὐκ ἀνεστάλη,
 ἀλλ' εἶχε κηρὸν ἢ φαρέτρα καὶ βέλος,
 κριοὺς ἀφήκε καὶ χελωνίους τέχνας,
 καὶ πετροπόμπους σφενδόνας, καὶ συνθέσεις

subjects. For the multitude of your father's armies dispatched⁸³ for similar toils distressed you;⁸⁴ but there was no servant there consoling you; for all were ignorant of what had happened. But God soon changed your distress to elation. He immediately revealed to you the messenger bearing victory,⁸⁵ from the one who girded on the sword as your servant.⁸⁶ When you knew the content of what was written—for he had sealed the letter—you did not strike the lyre like David of old, but rather used your tongue clearly instead of a lyre. Straightway you spiritually urged on the phalanx of monks against the enemy—for this phalanx itself conquers even without a sword, turns backs and subdues cities—and you gave thanks all night, rushing to the house of your co-*strategos*. These things you laboured at together with your servants.

When the [moat's] mouth was filled with punishment—for the punishment of the enemy was the bitterness of the slaughter |—the *strategos* of the battle was aware that the ditch had steep banks and cavernous areas and ordered stones thrown [in], and earth and wood, for the easy advance of the siege sheds. There the multitude had their assigned task as ordered, but the missiles marshaled by the enemy created [a curtain of] clouds. Air,⁸⁷ tell of, give witness to—do not hesitate—the woven thread of your tunic, arrayed in which you repelled the harm woven from the unseen troubles,⁸⁸ [and] through which the rapacious dogs with their scornful looks fell down from the battlements. 276

When at last after eight days the torrential storm did not stop, but quiver and arrow were unceasing,⁸⁹ he [Phokas] deployed rams and tortoise devices, and stone-throwing slings⁹⁰ and awesome combinations of easily combined ladders against them. When the fortress openers⁹¹ could not bear the new

83 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *σφαλείσα* for the Bonn edition's *σταλείσα*.

84 A reference to the unsuccessful expedition against Crete sent by Constantine VII in 949. For a detailed description of those preparations see Haldon 2000.

85 The adjective here, *νικηφόρος*, is also the name of Nikephoros Phokas.

86 i.e. Nikephoros II Phokas.

87 Theodosios here perhaps uses the term *ἀήρ* with a double meaning, the second, the liturgical veil used to cover the Eucharistic elements on the altar; see *ODB* 1:27.

88 i.e. missiles thrown from the walls.

89 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *καίρων* for the Bonn edition's *κρηρὸν*. On this translation of *ἔχειν καίρων* see Panagiotakes 1960, 143, n. line 52.

90 Presumably trebuchets; I have retained Theodosios's less specific term throughout.

91 i.e. the besiegers; the term *καστρανοίκτης* is a hapax. See Panagiotakes 1960, 143, n. lines 56–57 and *LBG* s.v.

- 55 δεινὰς κατ' αὐτῶν κλιμάκων ἀσυνδέτων.
 Ὡς οὖν ἐκείνων τὰς νέας τιμωρίας
 οἱ καστρανοῖκται μὴ φέροντες ἠπόρουν,
 τάττει τὸν ὄχλον καὶ πάλιν ποιὰς πλέκει
 ὁ σοὶ ποθητὸς οἰκέτης Νικηφόρος.
- 60 Τῶν γὰρ πεσόντων δυσμενῶν ταῖς σφενδόταις
 ἔταξε πέμπειν τὰς κάρας βελῶν δίικην·
 ὡς ἂν τὸ λεπτόνητον αἰθέρος πλάτος |
 χαρῆ μολυνθὲν συμφορᾷ τῶν βαρβάρων,
 καὶ γινῶ τὸ πλήθος τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὅτι
- 65 καὶ τῶν μελῶν ἔχουσιν εἰς ποιήν θέσιν.
 Ἐρρίπτον ἔνδον ἀντὶ πετρῶν τὰς κάρας·
 ἔβαλλον αὐτῶν πολλάκις καὶ πατέρας,
 καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ θανῶν εἰς ἓν μάχη
 φονεὺς ὑπῆρχε πατρικῆ φονουργία.
- 70 Τῆς γὰρ κρατούσης σαρκικῆς ἀβλεψίας
 λυθεὶς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ μαθῶν τὸ συμφέρον,
 τοῖς χριστολάτραις συμμαχεῖν ἠπειγμένος,
 τοῖς ψευδολάτραις ἦν βολῆ ποινηφόρος.
 Ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνας εἶχε τὰς σάρκας πόλις
- 75 πλήρεις μολυσμῶν, οἱ ξύνημοι τῷ γένει
 ἔκραζον οὕτω τῆ βοῇ τῶν βαρβάρων·
 “σεῖφ ἐχειμάτ ἰσχαρόπ καὶ τὴν ῥάσαν
 σερμητ μιδήνη καὶ χάητ ἰπφησάνη.”
 Ἄλλ' ἡ βοῆ μὲν ἦν ἔθει τῷ πατρίῳ,
- 80 ἡ δὲ σφαγὴ σοὶ Κρητικοῖς εὐρημένη.
 Ἦν οὖν ἐκείνων ὁ κρατῶν στρατηγίας
 γέρων Ἀμηράς, ὠχρός, ἔμπλεος πόνων,
 μικρός, φαλακρός, δεινόφρων, τὸν ἐκ Πύλου
 γέροντα νικῶν ἐν μελιρρύτοις λόγοις.
- 85 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ὠφέλησαν οἱ λόγοι,
 κἂν ἦσαν εὐθεὶς προσβαλεῖν σου τῷ κράτει.
 Ὅμως ἐτόλμα, καὶ γὰρ ἦν στρατηγέτης |
 τρέφων ἑαυτὸν ἐν κεναῖς ταῖς ἐλπίσι.
 Βουλὴν δὲ ποιεῖ, καὶ καλεῖ τοὺς ἐν χρόνῳ
- 90 ὁμοστόλους γέροντας ἐν συνεδρίῳ.
 Ἐκεῖ καθεσθεὶς καὶ στενάξας ἐκ βάθους
 φωνῆν ἀφήκε τοῖς πόνοις μεμιγμένην·
 “τίς, ἄνδρες, ὑμῶν πῦρ ἔχει τῇ καρδίᾳ
 καῖον, φλογίζον, ὡς ἐμὲ φλέγει φάλαγξ

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actions of vengeance against them,⁹² and were at a loss, your beloved servant Nikephoros arrayed the host and again wove punishments. For he ordered them to propel with slings the heads of the fallen enemy like missiles,⁹³ | so that the fine-spun⁹⁴ breadth of air would rejoice at being defiled by the misfortune of the barbarians, and the people of sin would know that they had the deposit of body parts as their punishment. They were throwing the heads inside instead of stones. And they were often hurling their fathers and brothers, and the one dying in battle became a murderer by murder of kin. For freed from the carnal blindness which possessed [him] and knowing the better, compelled to ally with the worshippers of Christ, he was a missile bringing punishment to the false worshippers. When the city had that flesh full of pollution, the relatives⁹⁵ cried out thus in the language of the barbarians:

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Σεήπφ ἐχειμάτ ἰσχαρόπ καὶ τὴν ῥάσαν
σερμήτ μιδήνη καὶ χάητ ἰπφησάνη.⁹⁶

But while the cry was in their ancestral manner, the slaughter was devised for the Cretans by you [Romanos]. Their army commander the old emir⁹⁷ was pale, full of toils, small, bald, cunning, better at mellifluous words than the old man of Pylos.⁹⁸ But his words, even if they were unmistakable, did not help him attack your power. | Nevertheless he dared to do so, for he was a *strategetes* nourishing himself on vain hopes.

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He made a plan and called to a council the old men of his generation. Sitting down there and groaning from deep inside, he spoke with a voice mixed with toils:⁹⁹ “Who of you, men, has a fire burning in his heart, aflame,

92 The defenders.

93 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.7–8 (Hase 1828, 14–15) reports Phokas’s use of the same tactic.

94 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) λεπτόνημον for the Bonn edition’s λεπτόνητον.

95 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) σύναιμοι for the Bonn edition’s σύνημοι.

96 For a proposed translation of Theodosios’s phonetic transcription of the Arabic into Greek letters see Serikoff 1997, who suggests, “Abandon (your life), whether you are dead or alive. Behold! Here you damage (= destroy) (the enemy) in the right way. Should you die from this (perishable) world (var. because of your creed), you shall get reward in the heavens.” For other versions see Karapli 1993, 238.

97 *PmbZ* #20009, Abd al-Aziz ibn Shu’ayb, called in the Byzantine sources Kouroupas.

98 i.e. Nestor.

99 See on this speech Karapli 1993, 237.

- 95 Ῥώμης κλονούσα τὴν ἐμὴν τοπαρχίαν·
 τίνος τὰ τέκνα τὴν τελευταίαν βλάβην
 ἐκ τῆς σπάθης εἴληφε τῆς τεθηγμένης·
 τίνος τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκβιβρώσκειται ζέον
 τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθόν, ἢ πικρὰ τιμωρία·
- 100 ἐκεῖνος ἡμῖν ἄρτι συμβουλευέτω,
 γνῶμην διδοὺς ἄριστον ἀντὶ τοῦ σθένους.
 Ἄλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, στήσωμεν ἄνδρας ἰππότας
 τρις ἑπτὰ τοῖς βάλλουσι πεντηκοντάδας·
 ἔπειτα πεζῶν ἐξάδας τρισμυρίους,
- 105 πάντας σιδηροὺς, εἰς θέαν μελαγχρόους,
 ὡς ἂν καταπλήξωσι τοὺς ἐναντίους
 φανέντες αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν παρ' ἐλπίδα."
 Οὕτως ὁ τὸ πρὶν αὐθαδῶς ἠπλωμένος,
 δημηγορῶν ἦν δυστυχῶς ἐσφιγμένος.
- 110 Καὶ δὴ στρατεύσας καὶ φαλαγγώσας ὅλους
 ἐκ τῶν ὀπῶν ἠθροίζεν ὁ δράκων ὄφεις.
 Εἰδῶς δὲ πάντας εἰς ὁδοὺς δειλανδρίας
 ὁμοῦ βαδίζειν, ἢ σφαγῆς αἰρουμένους, |
 σταθεῖς παρῶρμα τοὺς κακοὺς παρεργάτας·
- 115 "ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ σπεύσωμεν, ἄνδρες ἰππόται,
 τῆς νῦν φανείσης μυριοξίφου μάχης·
 ἴωμεν εἰς μάχαιραν ἀντὶ τῶν τέκνων,
 ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, καὶ φίλων, καὶ πατρίδος.
 Μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὰς τομὰς τῶν φασγάνων.
- 120 Εἰ γὰρ θάνῃ τις, σώζεται παραυτίκα,
 καὶ ζῶν πορευθῆ καὶ λάβῃ κατοικίας,
 ὅπου προφήτης οἶδε χειμαρῶνους λέγειν
 γάλακτα ἐκμέλιτα ἐξοίνου ῥέειν.
 Εἰ δ' αὖ δεδοικῶς οὐχ ὑπὲρ τέκνων θάνῃ,
- 125 τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τοὺς λόγους περιδράμη,
 θνήξει παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ μεταστάς τοῦ σκότους
 τὴν ἀπρόοπτον δέξεται τιμωρίαν."
 Οὕτω παραινῶν καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς μάχην
 προωδοποιεῖ τὴν σφαγὴν τοῖς ἀξίοις.
- 130 Ὅ δὲ στρατηγὸς ὁ κρατῶν Νικηφόρος
 οὐκ εἶχε καιρὸν ἀγνοεῖν τὰς τοῦ πλάνου
 ἄσπερ παρέλκων ἔπλεκε στροφοργίας.
 Ἦν γὰρ τις αὐτὰς τὰς ὁδοὺς προμηνύων,

as the phalanx of Rome inflames me, throwing my rule into chaos? Whose children have received deadly injury from the sharp sword? Whose field has the boiling fire attacked and devoured, the bitter vengeance? Let that man right now take counsel with me, giving the best advice for our strength. But, if it seems good, let us deploy cavalry, twenty-one units of fifty men each, against the attackers, and then 180,000¹⁰⁰ infantry, all iron-clad, of dark complexion,¹⁰¹ so that they may terrify the enemy, appearing to them outside the gates unexpectedly.” So the one, formerly audaciously expansive, was speaking constrained by ill fortune. Indeed after he formed his army and gathered all the phalanxes, the serpent collected all the snakes from their lairs. But realizing that they all walked together on the paths of cowardice | rather than choose slaughter, taking a stand he incited his evil henchmen: “Let us eagerly delight, cavalry men, in the battle of myriad swords which we now face, let us rush to the sword for our children, on behalf of our wives, our friends, our fatherland. Let no one be afraid of the slashes of sword blades. For if anyone dies, he is immediately saved, and alive he goes and receives his abode¹⁰² where the prophet said he knew torrents of milk, honey, and wine flow.¹⁰³ But if anyone out of fear does not die for his children and scorns the words of the prophet, he will die at our hands, and after death will receive the horrible¹⁰⁴ vengeance of the darkness.” Thus exhorting and moving¹⁰⁵ them to battle, he prepared the slaughter they deserved.

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The *strategos*, the commanding Nikephoros, had no opportunity to be unaware of the machinations that the deceiver was uselessly weaving. For one of those confined in the chaotic conditions inside gave him¹⁰⁶ prior indication of the plans.¹⁰⁷ So he joined into a single unit senior officers, well-

100 The number is highly unlikely, perhaps a scribal error or, as Panagiotakes 1960, 145, n. line 104 suggests, *μύριοι*: here may be used for *χιλιοι* and hence the number would be 18,000.

101 i.e. Ethiopians, see *ODB* 2:733.

102 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *κατοικίαν* for the Bonn edition's *κατοικίας*.

103 Koran 47.15. I follow Panagiotakes's (1960) *γάλακτος, ἐκ μέλιτος, ἐκ οἴνου* for the Bonn edition's *γάλακτα ἐκμέλιτα ἐξοίνου*.

104 Literally “not to be looked upon.”

105 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *παρορμῶν* for the Bonn edition's *παρ' αὐτῶν*.

106 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *αὐτῷ* for the Bonn edition's *αὐτάς*.

107 Deserters are also mentioned in other sources as well, see Tsougarakis 1988, 67 with n. 190 and above in *Vat. gr.* 163, chap. 21.

- ἐκ τῶν ἀκόσμως ἔνδον ἐγκεκλεισμένων.
 135 Οὕτω στρατάρχας, ἄνδρας εὐθείς ἰππότας,
 φαλαγγισώστας, πεζοτοξοκράτας
 εἰς ἓν συνήψε τοῖς στρατηγέταις ἅμα, | 280
 μέσον δὲ τούτων, εὐτελής ὡς ἰππότης,
 σταθεὶς ἀφήκεν ὀπλικωτάτους λόγους·
 140 “Ῥώμης τὰ νεῦρα, τέκνα, σύνδουλοι, φίλοι,
 ἰδοὺ καθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ πάλιν τὸ θηρίον
 κενὰς ἔσωθεν ἤρξατο σκευωρίας·
 ἰδοὺ τὸ δεινὸν τῆς Χαρύβδews στόμα
 ἀναρρόφησαι μαίεται Ῥώμης κράτος·
 145 ἰδοὺ συριγμοὺς ὁ δράκων χειὰς μέσον
 κήρυκας ὀργῆς καὶ σφαγῆς ἀναπνέει,
 φυσᾶ τὸν ἰὸν καὶ βιάζει τὴν φύσιν.
 Ἄλλ’ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ τὸ θράσος δειλανδρία.
 Μηδεὶς φοβηθεὶς ἐξόπισθεν φευγέτω·
 150 θυμὸς γὰρ αὐτῷ μέχρι τῶν κτύπων μόνων.
 Ἴωμεν ἀνθ’ ὧν εὐσθενῶς ὦπλισμένοι·
 ἔχουσι σάρκας καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἄγαρ τέκνα.
 Οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς σὰρξ σίδηρος ἢ λίθος.
 Ἄλγοῦσιν, ἂν λάβωσι, Ῥωμαίων πλέον·
 155 ἀργοῦσιν, αὐτῶν εἰ κοπῶσιν αἱ χεῖρες·
 πίπτουσιν εἰς γῆν, εἰ κοπῶσιν οἱ πόδες.
 Μηδεὶς νοσήσει τὴν πικρὰν ἀνανδρίαν·
 μηδεὶς φοβηθεὶς οὐ φανεῖ Ῥώμης κλάδος.
 Μηδεὶς νόθον γέννημα καὶ σπορὰν ξένην
 160 δεῖξειν ἑαυτὸν ἐν κακοῖς σπουδαζέτω.
 Αἰδῶς, ἀδελφοί, τῆς φυγῆς ἢ ζημίας.
 Αἰδεῖσθε φεύγειν καὶ πτοεῖσθαι τὰ ξίφη. | 281
 Ποῦ γὰρ φυγοῦσιν εὐρεθῆ σωτηρία,
 μένουσιν ἔνδον Κρητικῶν ὀρισμάτων;
 165 Οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχὺς τῆς Ἄγαρ τοῖς ἐγγόνιοις·
 θεὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν συμμαχεῖ καὶ συντρέχει.”
 Οὕτω στομῶσας τοῦ στρατοῦ σου τὰ ξίφη,
 λόχους ἐποίει, καὶ τροπὴν πεπλασμένην,
 ὡς ἂν κλαπέντες ἔνδοθεν τειχισμάτων,
 170 ἔξωθεν θαρσῆσωσιν ἐκβεβηκέναι.
 Ὡς οὖν καιρὸς ἤγγισε τῶν βουλευμάτων,
 χώραν ἐχούσης τῆς ῥοδοχρόου τρίτην,
 χειὰς ἀνώρμων, ὡς ὄφεις, οἱ τὰς κάρας

equipped¹⁰⁸ cavalry, disciplined phalangites,¹⁰⁹ infantry archers,¹¹⁰ | together 280
 with the *strategetai*. And [Nikephoros] stood in their midst like a well-
 equipped cavalryman and began to bring forth most warlike words: “Sinews
 of Rome, children, fellow slaves, friends, behold against us and yet again the
 wild beast has begun to produce vain intrigues within. Behold the terrifying
 mouth of Charybdis is raging¹¹¹ to devour the power of Rome. Behold, the
 serpent hisses, heralding his anger and slaughter from the midst of his lair,
 and spews forth his poison and does violence to nature. But his audacity is
 cowardice. Let no one out of fear flee in retreat; for his spirit goes only as far
 as the clash of arms. Let us go therefore strongly armed. Hagar’s children are
 [just] flesh, their flesh is not iron or stone; they grieve more than Romans
 if wounded; they do nothing if their hands are lopped off; they fall to the
 ground if their feet are lopped off. Let no one suffer¹¹² bitter cowardice. Let
 no one through fear fail to appear a scion of Rome. Let no one be eager to
 show himself a bastard offspring and foreign seed amid evils. Shame, broth- 281
 ers, is the penalty for flight. | Be ashamed to flee and to fear [their] swords.
 For where is salvation to be found by those who have fled, who [still] remain
 within the boundaries of Crete? The descendants of Hagar have no strength.
 For God is our ally and travels with us.”

After thus steeling the swords of your army, you¹¹³ set ambushes and a
 feigned retreat, so that those hidden within the walls might have the courage
 to sally outside. When the time for his plans grew near, as rosy [day] was at
 the third hour,¹¹⁴ those with heads shaved as a reproach set forth from their

108 The meaning of εὐθὺς in this context is uncertain. Panagiotakes 1960, 146, n. line 135 suggests it be interpreted as εὐσταλεῖς which is used of Phokas himself just below. The latter term might also mean “light-armed” (*LSJ* s.v.).

109 The term φαλαγγισώστης is not found elsewhere on the *TLG*. Literally “phalanx preserver,” perhaps it indicates men who will not break ranks.

110 The word πεζοτοξο[το]κράτης is not found elsewhere on the *TLG*; see *LBG*, “Bogenschütze zu Fuss.” For its use of an individual soldier rather than a leader see n. 424.

111 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) μαίνεται for the Bonn edition’s μαίεται.

112 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) νοσήση for the Bonn edition’s νοσήσει.

113 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) ἐποίεις. Here presumably Nikephoros rather than Romanos is referred to; see Panagiotakes 1960, 148, n. line 168.

114 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) ὤραν for the Bonn edition’s χῶραν.

- ἔχοντες, ὡς ὄνειδος, ἐξυρημένας.
 175 Τούτων ὑπήρχε καὶ κρότος ταῖς ἀσπίσι,
 βοή τε πολλή, καὶ τρόμου πατήρ φόβος,
 καὶ πάντα δεινά· τοῖς δὲ σοῖς στρατηγέταις
 τάξις, σιωπή, σεμνότης, προθυμία.
 Εἶς οὖν στρατηγῶν, εὐγενοῦς ῥίζης κλάδος,
 180 ἀνὴρ κραταιὸς εἰς στροφὴν ἀκοντίου,
 βραδὺς δὲ φεύγων, καὶ ταχύς κατατρέχων,
 λόγους γλυκεῖς ἔλεξεν ἐν στρατῷ μέσον·
 “πρωτοστράτηγε, πῶς λιπὼν τὸν δεσπότην
 οὐχ ὡς μάγειρος τῇ βαναυσίῳ τέχνη
 185 κυκῶν ἔμιξας τούτων ἐν παραινέσει,
 ὡς ἂν τὸ νέκταρ ὁ γλυκὺς στεφηφόρος
 ταῖς σαῖς γένηται προσταγαῖς ἀρτυσία; |
 ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς νουθετῶν, ἐπιτρέπων,
 τὴν χεῖρα πᾶσιν ἐξαπλῶν, εὐεργέτει.
 190 μνησθῶμεν αὐτοῦ ῥημάτων μελιρρύτων,
 καὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν, εἶτα τῶν χαρισμάτων.
 Μνήσθητε, καὶ θάνωμεν, ἄνδρες, εἰς δέον,
 ὑπὸ γένους ἀνακτος εὐσεβεστάτου.
 Μόνον πλατυνητῆ σκήπτρον τῆς μοναρχίας,
 195 καὶ γῆς ἀνάξει Ῥωμανὸς πάσης μόνος.”
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πληθὺς μυρίαῖνδρος βαρβάρων
 ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν ὤρμησεν, ὡς νότου νέφος,
 βρυχήν ἀπειλοῦν, καὶ προδεικνύον σπόρον,
 οἱ σοὶ τραπέντες εἰς φυγὴν πεπλασμένην
 200 πάγην ἐτεχνάζοντο τὴν κρητεκτόνον.
 Πύργον δὲ μακρὸν πάντες ἐκβεβηκότες,
 καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἔξωθεν ἐξωρμηκότες.
 ποιὰς ὑπεῖχον πίστεως τὰς ἀξίας.
 Ἐκ τεττάρων γὰρ στρατικῶς ἐγκρυμμάτων
 205 κλύδων ἐγερθεῖς, καὶ σφοδρῶς ἐπιβράσας,
 χειμῶνα γεννᾶν ἤρξατο πρὸς τῆς μάχης·
 καὶ δυσμενῶν ἦν συμφορά, κλόνος, στόνος,
 λαῶν δὲ τῶν σῶν χαρμονὴ νικηφόρος.
 Ὡς οὖν σταθέντες ἦσαν ἐν μεταιχιμίῳ,
 210 τὴν ἔκβασιν βλέποντες ἐστενωμένην, |
 οἱ τῆς ἑαυτῶν αἵτιοι φονουργίας,
 ἔβαλλον εὐθύς, ἀνεβάλλοντο πλέον,
 καὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἔχοντες ἠπορημένην, —

lair like snakes. Their shields made a racket, and there was a loud cry and fear, father of trembling, and all was frightening; but for your soldiers¹¹⁵ there was order, silence, dignity, and eagerness.

One of the *strategoi*, a scion of noble stock, a man powerful at wielding the javelin, slow to flee, quick to attack, spoke these sweet words in the midst of the army: “Leading *strategos*, how, omitting the sovereign, did you, like a cook mixing with lowly skill, fail to blend him into your harangue, so that the sweet crown-bearer might like nectar | become seasoning to your orders? He [Romanos] advising us, encouraging us, extending his hand to all, is benefi- 282 cent. Let us recall his words flowing with honey, and the banquets, then the gifts, remember and let us die, men, if need be, for the ruler of most pious lineage. Only let the sceptre of imperium be extended and may Romanos alone rule¹¹⁶ all the earth.”

When a myriad multitude of barbarians set forth from the gates, like a cloud of the south wind, threatening rain¹¹⁷ and presaging seedtime, your men turned to feigned retreat and crafted a deadly trap for the Cretans.¹¹⁸ All of them emerged from the high tower and, after sallying out of the gates, suffered the punishments their faith merited. For crosswise¹¹⁹ [simultaneously] from four concealed locations a wave arose and boiling violently began to engender a storm before the battle. There was ruin, confusion, lament for the enemy, but victorious joy for your people. And when the [enemy] stood in no-man’s-land | and saw their way out constricted, some were the cause of 283 their own slaughter, immediately attacking, but more often being counterattacked, and finding flight impossible—for everywhere injuries threw them

115 See above n. 50.

116 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) ἀνάξιη for the Bonn edition’s ἀνάξει.

117 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) βροχήν for the Bonn edition’s βρυχήν.

118 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) κρητοκτόνον for the Bonn edition’s κρητεκτόνον.

119 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) σταυρικῶς for the Bonn edition’s στρατικῶς.

πάντη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦν ταραττουσα βλάβη—
 215 ἔστησαν εἰς ἓν τῆς ταφῆς τὸ χωρίον.
 Τίς ἐκ τραγωδῶν ἐκβοήσει τοὺς φόνους,
 καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου τῆς σφαγῆς τιμωρίαν;
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν νεφροῖς βεβλημένος,
 220 περιτροπὰς ἔπασχεν, ἄσπερ ἡγνόει,
 καὶ πρὶν χορευτῶν οὐ μαθῶν περικλάσεις,
 ἄκων χορευτῆς ἦν λαβῶν ἀκοντίῳ.
 Ἄλλος στερηθεὶς τῆς κεκαρμένης κάρας
 ἔκειτο πρηνῆς στρατικῶς ἠπλωμένος,
 καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δυστυχῶς κινῶν πόδας,
 225 χύσει κολυμβᾶν ἤθελε τῶν αἱμάτων.
 Ἄλλος δὲ πληγείς τὴν κατάξηρον ῥάχιν,
 κύπτων ἄκων ἦν προσκυνῶν σου τὸν στόλον.
 Ἄλλος δὲ νεκρός, καὶ πόδας τετμημένος,
 λελησμένος προὔκειτο τῶν ἱπασμάτων.
 230 Ἄλλος δὲ τὴν ἀναλτον ὠσθεὶς γαστέρα,
 χερσὶ κατείχε τὴν πλοκὴν τῶν ἐντέρων,
 καὶ πρὶν μαχητῆς εὐσθενῆς κεκριμένος,
 μάγειρος ἦν ἄπειρος ἐντεροπράτης.
 Οὕτως μετηλλάξαντο τὴν πανοπλίαν
 235 εἰς ἀλλοτέχνους συμφορὰς οἱ τῆς Ἄγαρ·
 καὶ πᾶς τελευτῶν εἶχε τὴν τιμωρίαν, |
 τέχνην πονηρὰν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν βίου.
 Εἷς οὖν ἐκείνων ἦν ἀνὴρ Κρῆς ἱππότης,
 γιγαντοειδὲς, ὃς λαβῶν τὴν ἀσπίδα,
 240 καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν, τῷ στρατηγῷ τῆς μάχης
 ἐναντίως ἤλαυνε, προσβαλεῖν θέλων.
 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀφήκεν ἡ δίκη τοῦτον φθάσαι·
 πλήττει γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ κρατῶν Νικηφόρος
 τῆς ὀσφύος κάτωθεν, ὀμφαλοῦ μέσον.
 245 Καὶ τοῦ μὲν εἶχε σῶμα νεκρὸν ἢ κόνις,
 τοῦ δὲ κλέος μέγιστον ὁ πλατὺς στόνουξ.
 Οὕτω κακῶς ἔπασχον ἐγκεκλεισμένοι
 ἐκείθεν ἔνθεν τοῖς φονευταῖς ἐνδίκως
 οἱ τῶν ἀθέσμων πράξεων ὑπηρέται.
 250 Εἰ δ' ἦν τις αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὠρμημένος,
 ἔμπροσθεν εἶχε φραγμοὺς ἔμποιον ξίφος,
 καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν πανταχοῦ Νικηφόρον
 βάλλοντα, καὶ κράζοντα τοῖς στρατηγέταις·
 “βάλλωμεν, ἄνδρες, τοὺς βιοφθόρους λύκους.”

into disorder—they took up a single position for a grave. Who declaiming tragedy will herald the killing and the vengeance of each one's slaughter? For one of them was struck in the kidneys and was whirled around, which he did not comprehend, and formerly having no knowledge of the whirling of dancers, he became an unwilling dancer when wounded by a javelin. Another, deprived of his shorn head, lay prone stretched out crosswise¹²⁰ and was moving his own feet in his misfortune and desired to dive in a stream of blood. Another struck on his dry spine was bending down, making unwilling obeisance to your army. Another corpse, its feet cut off, lay there exposed, *forgetful of his equestrian skills*.¹²¹ Another had been hit in his insatiate belly and *held in his hands* the coils of *his intestines*;¹²² a man previously judged a stalwart fighter was now a meat-salesman, an inexperienced tripe-seller. So the [descendants] of Hagar exchanged their armor for differently crafted misfortunes. | Each as he died had as vengeance an evil method for the destruction of his life. One of them was a Cretan cavalryman, a giant of a man who took up shield and sword and drove directly against the battle's *strategos*, intending to strike him. But justice did not permit him to do so. For the commander Nikephoros struck him below the loins, around the navel,¹²³ and the dust took his dead body and the broad heaven¹²⁴ had [Nikephoros's] very great glory. Thus the servants of unlawful deeds, justly constrained from this side and that by their slayers, suffered badly. And if any of them moved to flee, he had before him as a barrier a punishing sword, and the *strategos* Nikephoros everywhere attacking, and crying to his soldiers,¹²⁵ "Men, let us attack the life-destroying wolves."

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120 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) σταυρικῶς for the Bonn edition's στρατικῶς.

121 Cf. the death of Cebriones, Homer, *Il.* 16.776, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.

122 Cf. Polydamus, Homer, *Il.* 20.420, ἔντερα χερσὶν ἔχοντα.

123 Cf. Job 40:16 of the behemoth: "Its strength is in its loins, and its power in the muscles of its belly."

124 The manuscript reading here is corrupt. I translate Panagiotakes's (1960) conjecture, πῶλος (see p. 150, n. line 246). Jacobs (1828) conjectured στόνυξ, Criscuolo (1979) στ[όλος].

125 See above n. 50.

255 Ὅμηρε, ποιητῶν λόγων ὁ τῆς μάχης
 πόρρω πεφυκῶς, ὡς παρῶν δὲ συγγράφων,
 ὁ πολλὰ κάμνων ἐν κενοῖς, καὶ τοὺς πόνους
 διεξιῶν ἅπαντας Ἑλλήνων μάτην·
 σὺ δεῦρο, καὶ βόησον ὄγκῳ ῥημάτων
 260 Ῥώμης στρατοῦ καύχημα, καὶ μέγαν στόνον
 ἐχθρῶν παλαιῶν, δυσμενῶν, δουλοσπόρων. |
 Ἔξεις γὰρ ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τύπον,
 ὡς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν παρέκβασιν τύπον.
 Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἔνθα τις φυγῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης,
 265 οὐδ' εἰ πτερωτὴν εἶχε βάρβαρος φύσιν.
 Ξέρξης ὁ τὸ πρὶν γῆν θαλασσωσαί θέλων,
 μὴ προσβαλῶν σου τῷ κράτει τιμὴν ἔχει;
 Οὐκ εἶδεν οὗτος γυμνὰ Ῥωμαίων ξίφη·
 οὐκ εἶδε τὴν σὴν, Ῥωμανέ, σκηπτουχίαν.
 Ἦ γὰρ παρήλθε τὸν στρατόν σου θαυμάσας,
 271 τὴν ἦτταν ἐν σοὶ προσλαβῶν, σκηπτοκράτορ.

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ἈΚΡΟΑΣΙΣ Γ'.

Ὅ τῆς ἀβύσσου τὰς πολυστόμους χύσεις
 κλειῶν, χαλινῶν, ἐξανοίγων, ἐξάγων,
 οὗτος πλατύνει τοὺς ὄρους τοῦ σου κράτους,
 ἀνακτος υἱέ, καὶ κρατύνει τὸν στόλον,
 5 καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ, καὶ καταστρέφει πόλεις.
 Καὶ τίς κατ' ἀξίαν σε τῶν λογογράφων,
 ἀναξ, ἐπαινεῖν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἰσχύσει,
 κἄν ἐστὶν ἄλλος ἐν Σταγειρίταις, Πλάτων,
 ἢ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὁ κρατῶν Δημοσθένης,
 10 ἢ τὴν πολυθρύλλητον ὁ κρούων λύραν;
 ἐγώ σε τῶν σῶν δουλικῶς ἐγκωμίων |
 ὁ τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέρας λογογράφος
 ἀπάρχομαι μὲν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀτολμίας
 τὰ κέντρα κεντεῖ, καὶ βιάζει τὸν λόγον.
 15 Σὺ δὸς τὸ τολμᾶν, ἐξάνοιγε τὸ στόμα,
 δίδαξον ἡμᾶς μὴ σιωπᾶν εὐκόλως,
 ὅταν τοσαύτη συμφορὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις.
 Πλάτυνε τὸν φάρυγγα τῆ παρῆρησίᾳ·
 καὶ γὰρ στενοῦται προσβαλῶν σου τοῖς πόνους·

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Homer, “spring¹²⁶ of words,”¹²⁷ the one far from battle but writing as if present, the one labouring much over empty matters, and recounting in vain all the toils of the Hellenes; come hither, and herald with the gravitas of your words the boast of the army of Rome, and the great lamentation | of the 285
ancient enemy, the hostile, slaveborn. For you will have with us the truth as your model, just as you had the Achaeans’ expedition as noise.¹²⁸ For no one here was fleeing the battle, not even if a barbarian had wings. For Xerxes, who once wished to turn land into sea,¹²⁹ had no honour since he was not attacking your power, [Romanos]; he did not know bared Roman swords; he did not know your sceptred power, Romanos. For in awe of your army he [would have] retreated, accepting defeat at your hands, sceptred sovereign.

Recitation Three

The One Who blocks, bridles, opens, leads out the many-mouthed streams of the abyss, He expands the boundaries of your power, son of a ruler, and strengthens your army, and He creates all and subdues cities. Who of logographers, ruler, will be able to praise you worthily to this extent, even if he is another Stagirite,¹³⁰ a Plato, or the commanding Demosthenes of Athens, or the one who plucks the well-known lyre?¹³¹ | But I,¹³² as befits a servant, the 286
logographer of the present day, begin encomia of you, but the goads of timidity prick and do violence to my words. Grant me the daring, open my mouth, teach us not to be contentedly silent, when such misfortune has come upon the barbarians. Expand my throat with permission to speak,¹³³ for when it approaches your toils it is constrained. My hand is in torment, my mind is

126 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) *πηγή τῶν* for the Bonn edition’s *ποιητῶν*.

127 George of Pisidia, *Pers.* 1.66 (Pertusi 1959).

128 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) *κτύπον* for the Bonn edition’s *τύπον*.

129 Xerxes’s canal through the isthmus of Mount Athos, completed in 480 BC. Theodosios apparently follows the similar reference of George of Pisidia, *Pers.* 2.303–305 (Pertusi 1959). See also below Theodosios the Deacon [293:184].

130 Aristotle.

131 i.e. Orpheus; see Panagiotakes 1960, 151–152, n. line 10.

132 Following Panagiotakes’s (1960) *ἔγω δὲ* for the Bonn edition’s *ἐγώ γε*.

133 Cf. 1Ki. 2:1.

- 20 ἀγωνιᾷ χεῖρ, εἴργεται νοῦς πολλάκις,
 συστέλλεται δέ, καὶ πτοεῖται, καὶ θέλων
 τοῖς σοῖς βαδίζειν χριστομιμήτοις τρόποις,
 ὡς πτώξ δεδοικῶς τὰς ὁδοὺς περιτρέχει.
 Σὺ γὰρ τὸ νικᾶν πανταχοῦ κεκτημένος,
- 25 τὸ κοινὸν ὠφέλησας, ἠϋξήσας μόνος,
 σὺ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐναντίων πόνοις
 ὤθησας εἰς φάραγγα δυσβάτων τόπων.
 Σὺ τὰς πόλεις ἔπλησας οὐ σκύλων μόνων,
 ἀλλ' εἰρήνης ἔπλησας, καὶ πολλῆς δόξης.
- 30 Ἀγαλλιᾶσθω τάξις ἀγγέλων ἄνω,
 χορευέτω σύστημα τῶν βροτῶν κάτω.
 Οὐχ Ἑρακλῆς ἔσωσε τοῦ κήτους Φρύγας,
 ὁ δεσπότης δὲ κόσμον ἐκ φονουργίας.
 Οὐ Μελέαγρος τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν πατρίδα,
- 35 ὁ Ῥωμανὸς δὲ πᾶσαν ἄρτι τὴν κτίσιν.
 Τοῖς σοῖς Ἀλωεὺ τίς χάρις παισὶ πάλαι
 χαλκοῦν τεχνουργεῖν Ἄρεος πίθον μέγαν; |
 Οὐ μητρυιὰ γὰρ τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὁ δεσπότης
 κινεῖ κατ' ἐχθρῶν, Κρητικῶν, λύσας πίθον.
- 40 Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ εἰκός, ἄστρον Ἥλιε, στέφους
 σοῦ σκῆπτρον λαμπρύναντος ἐν μοναρχίᾳ,
 ἐκεῖνον εἰρκτῆ καὶ στενοῦσθαι, καὶ μένειν·
 ἀλλ' ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ σε κρατεῖν τὴν ἀσπίδα,
 καὶ γῆν μολύνειν αἵμασι τῶν βαρβάρων.
- 45 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κρητῶν ἡ φάλαγξ κατεσφάγη,
 ὡς ἐν κυνηγοῖς πτώξ πεσῶν ἀνηρέθη,
 πολλοῖς μὲν ἡ γῆ συμφορῶν ἀπηλλάγη,
 ἀπεπλύθη δὲ μυρίων μισμμάτων·
 καὶ πᾶς Σκύθης ἔκειτο νεκρὸς εἰς χθόνα,
- 50 कुσὶ ποθητός, καὶ γυναιξί, καὶ τέκνοις.
 Τούτων ἀπάντων ἀγνοῶν τὰς ἐκβάσεις,
 αὐτός, στρατηγέ, καὶ πάλιν τὰς φροντίδας
 ἔνδον συνήγες, ὡς στρατόν, τῆς καρδίας,
 ἕως τὸ γράμμα θάττον ἐξ ὑπηκῶν
- 55 πολλῆς ἐπήλθε χαρμονῆς πεπλησμένον.
 Μαθῶν δὲ πάντα, καὶ κροτήσας τὰς χέρας,
 οἷαν προσευχὴν οὐκ ἔχει λέγειν φύσις,
 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν δέδωκας· ἀλλ' ἴσως, ἄναξ,
 τὴν τοῦ προφήτου, “Κύριε,” κράζων μέγα,

oftentimes locked, and cowers and is terrified though desiring to follow upon your Christ-like ways, and like a hare in fear it strays from the paths. For you possess victory everywhere, you benefit the state, you alone expand [it]; by your toils you thrust back the phalanx of the enemy into a chasm of impassable places. You have filled the cities not only with booty, but you have filled them with peace and great repute. Let the company of angels above rejoice, let the corps of mortals below dance; Herakles did not save the Phrygians from the sea monster,¹³⁴ but the sovereign saved the world from slaughter, nor did Meleager save his fatherland from the fire,¹³⁵ but Romanos saved the whole creation just now. What benefit was there to your sons of old, Aloeus, | to fabricate the great bronze jar for Ares? For not the stepmother,¹³⁶ 287 but the sovereign [Romanos] opened the jar and moved him [Ares] against the Cretan enemies. For it was not reasonable, star sun, while your crown illuminated your sceptre in sole rule, that that one [Ares] be held in confinement and remain so, but rather that with him you wielded the shield and defiled with blood the land of the barbarians.

When the phalanx of the Cretans was slaughtered like a hare fallen and killed by hunters, the earth was set free from many¹³⁷ misfortunes, and cleansed of myriad pollutions. Every Scythian¹³⁸ lay dead on the ground, dear to dogs rather than to wives and children. Unaware of the outcome of all this, you yourself [Romanos], *strategos*, again gathered your concerns in your heart just as you did your army, until the letter from your subjects soon arrived filled with great joy. When you learned all and clapped your hands, you offered to God a prayer such as nature is unable to describe. But perchance, ruler, you loudly cried that of the prophet: “Lord, my Lord do not refuse to

134 Herakles's encounter with the sea monster is mentioned at Homer, *Il.* 20.144–152, but not specifically that Herakles killed it. According to later myth Herakles does kill and save Troy from the monster. Here and regarding Meleager and the stepmother Euboea (next notes) Theodosios is apparently asserting the lies of Homer; see Introduction p. 131.

135 In the *Iliad* (9.588–593) Meleager does save his fatherland from fire.

136 The story of Ares's capture is told in Homer, *Il.* 5.385–391: Aloeus's sons Otis and Ephialtes imprison Ares; their stepmother Euboea arranges to have him freed.

137 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) πολλῶν for the Bonn edition's πολλοίς.

138 The term Scythian was used “as an archaism denoting all nomadic peoples whom they [the Byzantines] encountered, beginning in the 4th c.” (*ODB* 3:1857–1858), here applied to the Arabs of Crete.

60 “ὁ κύριός μου μὴ σιωπήσης ὄλωσ·
 εἰ γὰρ σιωπήσειας, εἷς τῶν ἐν βόθρῳ |
 βαϊόντων εἰμί, σκυθρωπός, πλήρης μόχθων.
 Ἄκουσον ἡμῶν εὐτελῶν ὀδυρμάτων,
 καὶ σὸν φυλάττων ποιμνιον σεσωσμένον
 65 τρόπωσον ἐχθρούς, καὶ κόπασον τοὺς πόνους,
 οὓς ὁ στρατός σου καρτερῶν ἀσπάζεται.”
 Τοιαῦτα μὲν σὺ συστρατηγῶν οἰκέταις,
 καὶ μὴ παρῶν ἔπραττες, ὡς Μωσῆς πάλαι
 τροπῶν Ἀμαλήκ τῇ χερῶν ἐπεκτάσει.
 70 Ὁ δὲ στρατός σου ταῖς ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις μάχαις
 νικῶν ὑπῆρχεν εἰς ὄφρυν ἐπηρμένος.
 Ἐδεῖτο λοιπὸν εὐκεράστου φαρμάκου
 εἰς σωφρονισμόν τῆς ἐπιστάσης νόσου.
 Καὶ νυκτὸς ἄρτι τῆς στυγνῆς ἀπλουμένης,
 75 καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ χαίροντος ἢ καυχωμένου,
 καὶ πρὸς μονὴν σπεύδοντος ἢ καλουμένου,
 ὡς ἐν ξυρῶ πᾶς ἦν τόπος ξιφηφόρος,
 βουνοί, νάπαι, φάραγγες, εὐθεῖς κοιλάδες·
 τῶν Κρητικῶν γὰρ ἐκχυθεῖς φωλευμάτων,
 80 προευτρεπισθεῖς ἑπτασήμαντος στόλος
 πολλὴν παρεῖχε τῷ στρατῷ δειλανδρίαν,
 ἄφνω προκύψας, καὶ φανείς παρ’ ἐλπίδα.
 Καὶ νύξ μὲν ἐστόλιζεν ἐν φωτὶ σκότος·
 θώραξ γὰρ ὡς φῶς, καὶ μάχαιρα, καὶ κράνος
 85 μετημφίαζον τὴν βαφὴν τῆς ἐσπέρας.
 Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πρὸς φυγὴν κεκλιμένοι, |
 ταῖς ἀσπίσι σκέποντες ὤρμων ἀυχένας,
 καὶ πᾶς ὁ φεύγων εἶχεν ὡς εὐεργέτιν
 θάλασσαν αὐτήν, καὶ τὰ τῶν πλοίων σκάφη.
 90 Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἰσχύς, νυκτὶ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις
 ἄμφω μάχεσθαι, καὶ κατασφάττειν πάλιν·
 εἰ μήπερ αὐτὸς—θαῦμα καὶ τοῦτο ξένον
 ἄκουσμα—θερμὸς πᾶσιν ἐστὼς ἰπότης
 95 παραινέτης ἦς, καὶ κατάπληξις μόνος·
 καὶ θάττον ὤρμας ἐκ φυγῆς πρὸς τὴν μάχην
 τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ μάχῃ.

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hear me.¹³⁹ | For if You should remain silent, I am one of those going into the pit,¹⁴⁰ sad, full of woes. Hear my worthless wailings, and keeping Your flock safe, strike down the foes,¹⁴¹ lessen the toils which Your army patiently embraces.” 288

Such things did you [Romanos] accomplish, co-marshaling your servants though not present, as did Moses of old putting to flight Amalek by extending his arms.¹⁴² Your army was victorious in successive battles, proud. There was need then for a carefully mixed remedy for the cure of an impending disease. Just as gloomy night was spreading out and the army rejoicing or boasting and hastening or summoned to camp,¹⁴³ the whole place with swords drawn was as on a razor’s edge, hills, dells, ravines, sheer valleys; for having poured out of the Cretan dens their army, well prepared, in significant numbers,¹⁴⁴ caused great cowardice in [our] army, emerging suddenly and appearing beyond expectation. And night clothed the darkness in light. For corslet and sword and helmet, like light, were changing the hue of the evening. | The soldiers,¹⁴⁵ after turning to flight and covering their necks with their shields, rushed off, and all who fled had as support the sea itself and the hulls of the ships. For they had not the strength to fight both night and the barbarians and to engage in slaughter in response, had not you yourself [Romanos]—this was a miracle and a strange thing to hear of—standing before all as a passionate horseman riding in out of nowhere, so it seemed, been [our] sole encourager and admonisher.¹⁴⁶ 289

139 Cf. Ps. 27 (28):1.

140 Cf. Ps. 27 (28):1, Ez. 26:20.

141 Cf. Ps. 88 (89):23.

142 Ex. 17:11. On the use of Moses to associate the absent Romanos II with the battle see Andriollo 2011, 51–52 and Introduction p. 128.

143 The Greek term here, *μονή*, literally means “monastery,” but apparently refers to the Byzantine camp. The army appears to be described as returning to camp in disorganized fashion and hence more vulnerable to the Arab attack. See Panagiotakes 1960, 154, n. line 75.

144 On the term *ἐπτασήμαντος*, a hapax, I follow Panagiotakes 1960, 155, n. line 80 who takes it as equivalent to *πολυπληθής*. For an alternative view, “seven times marked [by defeat],” see *LBG* s.v. *ἐπτασήμαντος* and compare the phrase “repulsed seven times,” Theodosios the Deacon [298:78] below.

145 See above n. 50.

146 Romanos here is almost like one of the military saints who appear unexpectedly on a battlefield; cf., for example, Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 9.9 (Hase 1828, 154) for the appearance of St Theodore Stratelates at Dorystolon.

Ὡς οὖν στραφέντες εἰς ἀνελπίστους βίας
 ἔτεινον ἀπλῶς ἠκονημένα ξίφη,
 100 ἤχησεν ἀσπίς, ἐκρότησε τὸ κράνος,
 ἔλαμψεν ἢ νύξ συμπονοῦσά σοι τότε,
 καὶ πᾶς ἔκειτο Κρητικὸς παρεργάτης
 εἰς αἷμα νεκρός, καὶ πνοῆς ἐξηρμένος.
 Οὐκ εἶχε λοιπὸν νύξ ἀφορμὴν τὸ σκότος
 105 ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ συμφορᾷ τῶν τῆς Ἄγαρ.
 Ἦριζε ταῖς πρὶν ἡμέραις, καὶ τοὺς φόνους
 πλείον προεξέτεινεν ἡμερῶν δέκα.
 Οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ καίπερ ὄντες ἐκ σκότους,
 κατητιῶντο τῷ σκότει τῆς ἐσπέρας,
 110 καὶ τὴν ῥοδόχρουν εἰς προσευχὴν ἡμέραν
 ἔστησαν ἐλθεῖν· εἶτα καὶ τοῦ φωσφόρου
 ἀκτίσι λευκάναντος ἄρτι γῆς πλάτη,
 ἀπηυχαρίστου ταῖς ὁδοῖς τῆς ἐσπέρας, |
 καὶ τὴν παθητὴν ἦνπερ εἶχον ἡμέραν,
 115 ἐχθρόν βδελυκτὸν ἔβλεπον μεμνηότα.
 Οὕτω κακῶς τρωθέντες, ἐξοπιθίως
 φεύγοντες ἐξήλαυνον οἱ λελειμμένοι·
 καὶ γῆ στολὴν εἴληφεν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων
 καινὴν, ὑφαντὴν ἐκ ξιφῶν τεθηγγμένων.
 120 Ἐκεῖ τὸν ἵππον ἵππόται θεὸν τότε
 πρὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν ἔκραζον· οἱ πεπτωκότες,
 τὸν εὐσθενῶς τρώσαντα, μὴ βαλεῖν ἔτι.
 Τοὺς οὖν φυγόντας τὴν πικρὰν ταύτην μάχην
 οὐ μέχρι φημί τεττάρων, ἢ καὶ δέκα·
 125 τοσοῦτον ἦσαν τῆς τελευταίας τύχης,
 ἐξ ὧν κακῶς ἔπαττον οἱ Κρήτες τότε.
 Τίς Ἰδομενεὺς ὁ θρασὺς δημηγόρος,
 ὁ συστρατηγῶν Ἑλλάδος στρατηγέτη,
 ᾧ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐξονειδίζων πάλοι,
 130 πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἤγειρεν Ἀτρέως γόνος,
 φθάσας παρελθεῖν εὐτυχῆς ἦν τὸν βίον,
 ὡς τὴν ἄλωσιν οὐκ ἰδὼν τῆς πατρίδος;
 ὡς δὲ τραπέντας εἶδεν ὁ πρῶτος Χάρων
 Κρήτης Ἀμηράς ἔνδοθεν πεφραγμένος—
 135 ἐκ τῶν ἄνω γὰρ ἔβλεπε πυργωμάτων—
 λαοῖς κατασχεῖν τὰς πύλας ἐπιτρέπει, |
 καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον χερσὶ τύψας ὁ δράκων,

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Quickly you roused from flight back to battle men terrified by battle in the dark. And when those who were returned to unexpected momentum simply deployed their sharpened swords, shield resounded, helmet rattled; night then, your ally, shone forth, and every Cretan henchman lay dead in [his own] blood, bereft of breath. And night did not have the darkness as a beginning amid such misfortune for the [descendants] of Hagar. It rivaled the prior days and produced more slaughter than ten days. The barbarians, although [people] of the darkness, reproached the darkness of the evening, and stood in prayer for rosy day to come. Then as the morning star with its rays was just illuminating the broad stretches of the earth, | they were giving thanks to the paths of evening and saw the desired day, which they [now] had, as a malignant, raging enemy. 290

Thus the survivors, fleeing, rode off, being severely wounded from behind, and the earth indeed received a strange kind of garment from the bodies, woven from sharpened swords. There the cavalry then before they fell cried out to their horse as if a god, after having fallen [they cried out to] the one so severely inflicting wounds not to keep striking [them]. I [would] say that those who escaped from this bitter battle were not as many as four, or [perhaps] ten. In such a degree of extreme misfortune were the Cretans who then fared [so] badly. Who was Idomeneus the bold orator, the one who was *co-strategetes* with the *strategetes* of Greece? The son of Atreus roused him to battle, reproaching him for his boasts¹⁴⁷ of old? He was fortunate to pass from life first so as not to see the capture of his fatherland.¹⁴⁸ But when the first Charon,¹⁴⁹ the emir of Crete, who was confined inside the fortifications, saw his people turned in flight—for he was watching from on high on the towers—| he ordered his people to shut the gates, and the serpent struck his 291

147 Homer, *Il.* 4.264. There may be a line lost at the beginning of this sentence.

148 The Homeric Idomeneus was from Crete, see Homer, *Il.* 4.265.

149 In classical mythology the ferryman of Hades who conveyed the dead across the rivers Styx and Acheron.

- ἀφήκε καπνὸν συμφορῶν ἐκ καρδίας.
 Ἦψας γὰρ αὐτοῦ πῦρ, ἀναξ, τοῖς ἐγκάτοις,
 140 σπινθήρας αὐτῷ σοὺς ἀφείς στρατηγέτας.
 Ἄγαλλιάσθω πάσα Ῥωμαίων πόλις·
 θάλασσα συγχόρευσον, εὐφραίνου κτίσις.
 Ὁ θῆρ ὁ δεινὸς σάρκας ὁ πρὶν ἐσθίων,
 κοινῶν στερεῖται σιτίων κεκλεισμένους.
 145 Ὁ μὴ κορεσθεῖς ἐν ῥοαῖς τῶν αἱμάτων,
 διψᾷ σταλαγμὸν ὕδατος τετηγμένος.
 Οὕτω κακῶς ἔχουσιν οἱ θεαρχίας
 πράξει πονηρᾷ τὸ τρισέμφω τὸ κράτος
 ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν καρδίας ὠθηκότες.
 150 Ὡς οὖν ὑπήρχεν ἔνδοθεν πεφραγμένος,
 τείχει πεποιθῶς, οὐ σθένει στρατευμάτων,
 ὁ σὸς στρατηγὸς καὶ πάλιν Νικηφόρος
 κριοῖς, χελώναις, σφενδόναϊς ἐπιτρέπε
 βαλεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, τὰς ἐπάλλεων βάσεις,
 155 τοὺς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, πάντα σὺν προθυμίᾳ
 ποιεῖν, τελεῖν, πράττειν τε τοῖς ἐναντίοις.
 Τούτου λαλοῦντος τῆς ἀηδόνος δίκην,
 αἰσθητικῶς ἔκαμνε πεντάδος μέτρον.
 Τῶν ὀμμάτων γὰρ κρουνοὺς ἔρβρει δακρῦων,
 160 ὀσφρήσεως πῦρ, ἦχος ἐκ τῶν ὠτίων·
 λόγων δὲ κρουνοὺς ἐξέπεμπε τὸ στόμα,
 καὶ χεὶρ ῥοὰς ἔβλυζε πολλῶν αἱμάτων
 ἐκ τῆς στροφῆς πάσχουσα τῶν ἀκοντίων.
 Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος, ὡς φανῆ σὸς οἰκέτης,
 165 ἐπλήττετο ζέοντι καρδίας πόθῳ.
 Πλὴν εἶχε καιρὸν ἐμποδῶν τῶν πραγμάτων
 βάλλοντα τοῦτον ἀντὶ μυρίων πόνων.
 Ἦν οὖν βαδίζων, ἦν τρέχων ἄνω κάτω,
 κλαίων, παραινῶν, καὶ παρορμῶν τὸν στόλον.
 170 Ἦιδεῖτο καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πόνους τοῦ σοῦ κράτους,
 κενῶς δι' αὐτοῦ μὴ περιβλέψας ὄκνος
 ἐν τοῖς ἀθέσμοις Κρητικοῖς ἀναπλάσθαι.
 Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς σφενδονοστρόφων, ἀναξ,
 ποιεῖ γέλωτος ἄξιόν τι καὶ πλέον.
 175 Ἐν σφενδόνη γὰρ νωθρὸν ἐμβαλῶν ὄνον
 ῥίψαι κελεύει ζῶντα τοῖς ὄνοις ὄνον.
 Οἱ δέ, στραφθέντες τῇ πλοκῇ τῶν σφιγμάτων,

face with his hands and spewed the smoke of misfortunes from his heart. For you lit a fire in his entrails, ruler, releasing your soldiers¹⁵⁰ against him like sparks.

Let all the City of Romans rejoice, let the sea join in the dance, let the creation be glad. The dread beast that previously ate flesh was confined and deprived of common food; the one not sated with rivers of blood thirsts after a drop of water and is wasted away. Thus do those who by evil actions thrust from their hearts the Trinitarian¹⁵¹ power of the Divine suffer.

As he [the emir] was confined inside, trusting in the walls, not in the strength of his armies, your *strategos* Nikephoros again gave orders¹⁵² to assault the wall with rams, tortoises, and slings, to assault the foundations of the battlements [and] the men on the wall, to do all eagerly, to finish the job, to engage with the enemy. Although he spoke like a nightingale, his five senses grew weary. | For a spring of tears flowed from his eyes, fire from his nose, an echo from his ears, but his mouth emitted springs of words, and his hands gushed great streams of blood, suffering from wielding javelins. Thus that man was smitten by boiling desire of heart to appear your servant. But he had time as a hindrance to his actions, as it threw myriad toils in his way. For he was going around, running up and down, weeping, advising, exhorting the army. † For he feared that due to him [i.e. his negligence], hesitation, creeping to no good effect [over his men] in the midst of the lawless Cretans, might create anew troubles for your army. †¹⁵³

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The *strategos*, rotating the sling, ruler [Romanos], did something worthy of humour and more. For placing in the sling¹⁵⁴ a sluggish jackass, he ordered [his men] to hurl a living jackass to the jackasses. And the men standing¹⁵⁵ at the nexus of the pull ropes¹⁵⁶ sent the unfortunate creature running through

150 See above n. 50.

151 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) τρισέμφωτον for the Bonn edition's τρισέμφω τὸ.

152 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) ἐπιτρέπει for the Bonn edition's ἐπιτρέπε.

153 The text is severely corrupt here. I translate the proposed reconstruction (with subsequent elaboration) of Panagiotakes 1960, 157–158, n. lines 170–172: καὶ γὰρ ἤδειτο, μὴ ὄνκος δι' αὐτοῦ περικλέψας κενῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀθέσμοις Κρητικοῖς ἀναπλάσαι τοὺς πόνους τοῦ σοῦ κράτους.

154 On the likely use of a hybrid trebuchet for this operation see Chevedden 1998, 188.

155 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) σταθέντες for the Bonn edition's στραφθέντες.

156 See Dennis 1998, 106, who paraphrases the passage, "The men stationed among the braided ropes."

πέμπουσι τὸν δύστηνον αἰθεροδρόμον·
 ὁ δὲ προηυτρέπιζεν, ἐξήπλου πόδας,
 180 εἰς ἀέρα προὔβαινεν ἀγρότης ὄνος,
 ὁ πρὶν ταπεινός, ἐν μεταρσίᾳ βάσει,
 ὁ νωθρός ἐν γῆ καὶ χελωνόπους ὄνος,
 νεφοδρομῶν ἔπληττε τοὺς Κρήτας τότε.
 Ξέρξης ἐδείκνυ γῆν ὕδωρ, τὸ πρὶν νέα, |
 185 καὶ πάντας ἐξέπληττε τοὺς ἐναντίους·
 ὁ σὸς δέ, παμμέγιστε Ῥωμανέ, στόλος
 νωθροὺς ὄνους φάλκωνας ἀπτέρω βάσει.
 Τοῦτον πεταστὸν ὁ στρατηγέτης βλέπων
 τοῖς συστρατηγοῖς μειδιῶν, ὡς ἐκ ζάλης
 190 τὸν νοῦν ἀνέλκων, εἶπεν, ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων·
 “νέον πετεινὸν εἰς τροφήν τὰ θηρία
 καθήμενον νῦν ἔνδοθεν, φίλοι, λάβη
 ὡς ἐξ ἀφάντων καὶ κεκρυμμένων πόρων,
 πλήσει τε τὴν τράπεζαν ἐκ τῶν βρωμάτων·
 195 δεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀναγκαίων λόγος.”
 Ὡ φθέγμα κλεινόν, ὦ μελίρρυτον στόμα
 τοῦ σοῦ στρατηγοῦ, δόξα τῶν ἀνακτόρων.
 Τίς οἶδεν ἄλλος τῶν πάλαι βροτῶν πλέον,
 ἐξ ὧν ἀνέγνω, τῶν τανῦν πεπραγμένων;
 200 Ἐἴ τις γινώσκει θαῦμα Ῥωμαίων μάχαις,
 τοῖς ἱστοροῦσιν ἐντυχῶν λογογράφους,
 ταῖς δεσπότην νῦν δεῦρο δὴ προβαλλέτω
 νίκαις ἐκεῖνο, καὶ φανήσεται τρίτον
 ὕψει μεγίστῳ, καὶ πόνοις ἀνενδότοις.
 205 Κῦρος, Δαρεῖος, Κροῖσος, οἱ στρατοκράται,
 Καῖσαρ, Ἀχιλλεύς, Μακεδῶν, καὶ Πομπῖος,
 Φίλιππος ὁ πρὶν, ὃν γράφει Δημοσθένης,
 ὁ μικροτερπής, πλὴν φανείς ἀριστόπαις, |
 Κάρβων, ὁ Σύλλας, Βροῦτος, ὃς τοῦ Πομπῖου
 210 ἔβαψε τὴν μάχαιραν ἐκ τῶν αἱμάτων·
 οὔτοι καθ’ ἡμῶν τῶν ὑπηκόων, ἄναξ,
 ὁμοῦ στρατευέτωσαν, οὐκ ἔχει φόβον
 ἔχουσα τὴν σὴν ἢ πόλις πανοπλίαν.
 Μῦθοι βοῶσι τοὺς πόρους Ἡρακλέους,
 215 ὑψοῦσιν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀληθείας πέρα,
 φωνοῦσι πολλά, καὶ καταπλήττουσί με,
 καὶ πλείστα φημίζουσιν ἴσως ἀξίως.

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the air. The rustic jackass readied his feet and spread them out, and went into the air. The creature formerly lowly, [now] in elevated position, the one sluggish on the ground and a turtle-footed jackass, cloud-running then struck the Cretans. | Xerxes showed the earth to be water,¹⁵⁷ something formerly novel, 293 and amazed all his enemies. Your army, Romanos, showed sluggish jackasses [to be] falcons without wings. When the *strategetes* saw this one airborne¹⁵⁸ he smiled to his co-*strategetai*, as if distracting his mind from a storm, from cares, and said: “May the beast¹⁵⁹ now sitting within receive a new bird for nourishment as if from a secret and hidden source, and fill the table from the meat. For it is rumoured that he¹⁶⁰ [the beast] is in need of necessities.”

O famous voice, O your mouth flowing with honey, *strategos*, glory of emperors. What other mortal of old knew more from what he read than these current events? If anyone knows the wonder of Romans in battles, encountering the learned logographers, come, let him compare that indeed to the victories of the current sovereign, and it will appear third [best] in greatest sublimity and in unyielding toils.

Cyrus, Darius, Croesus, the commanders Caesar, Achilles, the Macedonian,¹⁶¹ and Pompey, the aforementioned Philip, of whom Demosthenes writes, | a man of little joy¹⁶² save that the best son¹⁶³ appeared, Carbo,¹⁶⁴ 294 Sulla, Brutus, who dyed [his] dagger from the blood of Pompey,¹⁶⁵ let these men [all] campaign together against our servants, ruler, the City with your panoply has no fear. Myths cry out the labours of Herakles, elevate him beyond the truth, say much and astound me, and report about him to the

157 See the similar reference to Xerxes's Athos canal above, Theodosios the Deacon [285: 266].

158 For the Greek term here see *LBG* s.v. *πεταστός*, “beflügelt, flügel schnell.”

159 The emir; I follow Panagiotakes's (1960) τὸ θηρίον for the Bonn edition's τὰ θηρία.

160 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) αὐτῶ for the Bonn edition's αὐτοὺς.

161 i.e. Alexander.

162 On μικροτερπής see *LBG*, “der wenig Freude hat, wenig froh.”

163 i.e. Alexander.

164 Gnaeus Papirius Carbo (ca. 130s BC–82 BC), three times a consul and an opponent of Sulla, mentioned in Plutarch's *Lives* of Pompey and Sulla as well as in other sources.

165 In view of the factual error, editors posit a lacuna here (perhaps with a reference to a statue of Pompey) or perhaps translate “the dagger of Pompey” in that Brutus sided with him in the civil war and the blood might be understood as the blood of Caesar or of the civil war more generally. See Panagiotakes 1960, 159–160, n. line 209.

Πλὴν ἐκράτησεν, ἣ κατέστρωσε πόλεις.
 Πολλὰς γὰρ εἵποις· ἀλλὰ τοιαύτην πότε;
 220 Οὐκ ἦν τις ἄλλος τῆς πάλαι Ῥώμης ἀναξ·
 οὐκ ἦν τις ἄλλος ὡς ὁ κλεινὸς δεσπότης.
 Πολλῶν ἀνέγνων ἱστόρων πολλὰς βίβλους·
 Πλούταρχον ἐξαίροντα Ῥωμαίων κράτει—
 ἔγνω γὰρ αὐτὸν—οὗτος ἀλλὰ πολλάκις
 225 κλέπτει τὸ χαῦνον, καὶ τὸν ὄγκον εἰσάγει,
 ὑψοῖ τὸ μικρόν, καὶ κατασπᾶ τὸ πλεόν·
 Δίωνα τὸν τέττιγα, τὴν σοφὴν λύραν·
 οὐχ εὖρον, ὡς σὲ λαμπρόν ἐν στρατηγίαις·
 οὐχ εὖρον ἄλλον δεύτερον στρατηγέτην·
 230 οὐχ εὖρον ἄλλον Ῥωμανὸν βουληφόρον·
 οὐχ εὖρον ἄλλον· οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ Φιλίππου,
 ὃν πρῶτον ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν μάχαις ἔχει.
 τοσοῦτον ἦρθης τῇ Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ· |
 τοσοῦτον ἐκράτησας ἄλλων ἐν μάχαις·
 τοσοῦτον ἐξέπληξας ἐχθροὺς ἐν ξίφει.

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ΑΚΡΟΑΣΙΣ Δ΄.

Ἄρτι, κραταῖε φῶς, ἀναξ οἰκουμένης,
 τοῦ σοῦ στρατοῦ κάμνοντος ἐν παραστάσει
 βάρει σιδήρου, καὶ κόπῳ, καὶ φροντίδι,
 χειμῶνι πολλῷ, καὶ κρυμοῖς ἀνενδότοις·
 5 τῶν Κρητικῶν ἔξωθεν οἱ πρῶτοι κύνες,
 οὐ γῆς τοπάρχαι, καὶ φαλαγγάρχαι τότε·
 κρημνοὺς γὰρ αὐτοί, καὶ φαραγγῶδεις τόπους
 ὦκουν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελαθέντες ξίφει,
 πληγέντες ὀρμῇ καὶ βολῇ τῇ τοῦ κρύους,
 10 καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀπειπόντες χρόνους,
 ὁμοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν (καὶ γὰρ εἰς συνοικέτας)
 ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ὠρμησαν εἰς σφαγὴν μίαν.
 Ὡς οὖν τὸ βουνόθρεπτον ἄγριον γένος
 αἰγῶν, λαγῶν, καὶ ταπεινῶν δορκάδων
 15 χειμῶνι πικρῷ τὴν τροφὴν λελειμμένων,
 ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθεν ψυχοκρυστάλλων τόπων
 κοίλοις προβαίνει καὶ βαδίζει χωρίοις,
 τροφὴν ἐρευνῶν καὶ βοτανῶδεις τόπους· |

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greatest extent, perhaps deservedly. But he conquered or subdued¹⁶⁶ cities. For you may say many; but ever one such as this one?¹⁶⁷ There was not any other [such] ruler of ancient Rome, there was no other like [our] famous sovereign.

I have read many books of many learned men, Plutarch extolling the Romans' might¹⁶⁸—for I know him—but he often conceals the trivial and brings in the weighty, elevates the small and pulls down the greater; Dio the cicada, the wise lyre,¹⁶⁹ I have not found [in him] a beacon of military leadership like you, I have not found another second *strategetes*, I have not found another counsellor like Romanos, I have not found another, not the [son] of Philip whom Plutarch has first in battles. | So high were you elevated with God's cooperation; so much did you conquer others in battle, so greatly did you terrify the enemy with the sword. 295

[Recitation Four]

Just now, powerful one, light, ruler of the world [Romanos], with your army weary in being [long] stationed there under weight of iron and toil and cares, severe winter, and unyielding icy cold, the leading dogs of the Cretans outside, the *toparchai*¹⁷⁰ of the land and *phalangarchai*¹⁷¹ then—for they themselves were living on crags and in ravines, expelled there by the sword¹⁷²—were struck by the force and onset of icy cold and, not giving up to death, rushed together against us (indeed to neighbours) from the mountains to one slaughter. Just as the hill-nourished wild species of goats, hares, and humble deer bereft of nourishment in bitter winter go forth from the soul-chilling places in the uplands and proceed to the valleys, | seeking nour- 296

166 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) κατέστρεφεν for the Bonn edition's κατέστρωσε.

167 I.e. Chandax.

168 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) κράτη for the Bonn edition's κράτει.

169 Jacobs 1828 suggested a possible lacuna of one to two lines here.

170 The term is used in the 10th century as a "nontechnical word designating independent rulers," *ODB* 3:2095.

171 Here and in the subsequent paragraph the term appears to be used for the commanders of a (Cretan Arab) phalanx, although technical Byzantine usage would suggest a rank one step lower.

172 Panagiotakes 1960, 161, n. lines 6–8 argues that these are Cretan Arabs forced to flee into the mountains by the forays of Nikephoros Phokas.

οὕτως τὰ φαῦλα τῆς ἀμαρτίας τέκνα
 20 τοῖς τῆς θαλάσσης κυμοδέγμοσι τόποις,
 σκέπαις ἐπακταῖς ἔτρεχον, καὶ κοιλάσιν.
 Ὡς δὲ κρεῶν τὸ λίχνον ἐν θηρσί γένος
 λύκοι, κόρον σπεύδοντες εὐρεῖν γαστέρος,
 βαίνουσιν ὀργῇ καὶ κενώσει κοιλίας,
 25 πρὸ τοῦ φθάσαι χαίνοντες ἐκτάδην στόμα·
 οὕτως τὸ φύλον τῶν ἐκεῖ δουλοσπόρων
 τοῖς σοῖς βιασθεῖς, ποιμενάρχα, ποιμνίοις
 κατεξανέστη, καὶ παρεστόμου ξίφος,
 βρώξαι προθυμοῦν σάρκας ἀντὶ βρωμάτων,
 30 πίνειν τε θερμὸν αἷμα Ῥωμαίων θέλον,
 καὶ πρῶτα λαμπρῶς τῆς μάχης λαβεῖν κράτη.
 Τούτοις ὑπήρχεν ἡγεμῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις
 ὁ Καραμούντης, ὁ σφαγίπλουτος γέρων,
 ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν ἡμερῶν νέος δράκων,
 35 ὁ καὶ κρατῆσαι Κρητικῶν τὰς ἠνίας
 εἰς νοῦν ἔχων ἅπαντα τὸν ζωῆς χρόνον.
 Οὗτος προευτρέπιζεν εἰς σφαγὴν τότε
 πλήθος δεκαπλῆς ἐμβαλεῖν χιλιάδος.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας τῶν ὀρών εἶδε κάτω,
 40 ξιφηφοροῦντας, ἵππικούς, πεζηλάτας,
 σταθεῖς παρῆνει, καὶ παρῶρμα πρὸς ξίφη,
 φάλαγγας ἰστών, καὶ φαλαγγάρχας νέους,
 φράττων κύκλοις ἔξωθεν τὰς περιστάσεις, |
 τοιαῦτα φωνῶν καὶ βοῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις·
 45 “πολλὴ μὲν ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες, ἐστὶν ἡ βία,
 πολὺς ταραγμός, καὶ καταγιγίς, καὶ πόνος,
 ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἡμῖν θάπτον ἢ σωτηρία,
 μόνον θέλωμεν, χερσὶν ἐξευρημένη.
 Βῶμεν πρὸς ἐχθρούς, μὴ φοβηθῶμεν ξίφη,
 50 στῶμεν κατ’ αὐτῶν, μὴ πτοηθῶμεν δόρυ,
 καὶ πάντας εἰς θάλασσαν ἐξωθηκότες
 τρόπαιον ᾧδε στήσομεν λαοκτόνον.”
 Καὶ πάντες εὐθύς εἶπον ὡσπερ ἐν στόμα·
 “θάνωμεν, εἰ δεῖ, σήμερον πατρῶν ἅμα,
 55 σὺ δὲ πρόθυμον, ὡς ἐνὶ πᾶσι, δίδου·
 σὺ γὰρ πατήρ καὶ πύργος ἡμῶν ἐν μάχαις.”
 Τούτοις τὸ κοῦφον ἐμπτερωθὲν ἀπτέρως
 ὤρμησε φύλον προσβαλεῖν σου τῷ στόλῳ·

ishment and places of fodder, so the worthless children of sin were running to the places which met the waves of the sea, alien shelters and valleys. Just as the species greedy for meat among wild animals, wolves, eager to find satiety for their stomachs, go in anger and with empty belly, mouth gaping outstretched before the catch, so the tribe of the slaveborn there, compelled¹⁷³ by your flocks, chief shepherd, rose up and sharpened¹⁷⁴ their swords, eager to eat flesh instead of food and wishing to drink the hot blood of the Romans and primarily to decisively seize control of the battle.

The leader of these barbarians was Karamountes,¹⁷⁵ the old man rich with slaughter, the new serpent of the olden days,¹⁷⁶ the one intent all of his life to control the reins of the Cretans. This man was then preparing¹⁷⁷ to throw into the slaughter a multitude of 10,000. When he looked and saw all of these down from the mountains, sword carriers, cavalry, infantry, taking a stand he urged and roused them to swords, setting up phalanxes and new *phalangarchai*, | fortifying the outer perimeter all around, addressing and shouting to the barbarians as follows:¹⁷⁸ “Great is the compulsion on us, men, great is the confusion and storm and toil, but salvation is quickly in our hands, if only we are willing. Let us go against the enemy, let us not fear his swords, let us stand against them, let us not quail before his spear, and after pushing them all into the sea we will thus erect a trophy for killing the [enemy] host.” All immediately said as with one voice, “Let us die today with our fathers, if it is necessary, but give eagerness to us all, insofar as you can.¹⁷⁹ For you [Karamountes] are our father and tower in battles.” By these [words] the insignificant tribe, an evil people, hostile, bloodthirsty, and an evil tribe of

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173 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) βιασθέν for the Bonn edition's βιασθεις.

174 I do not find the verb παραστομώ attested elsewhere.

175 Karamountes, mentioned again below at Theodosios the Deacon [300:120] where he is referred to as emir, is not known from other sources. He is apparently the leader of a rival Arab faction in the countryside; see Panagiotakes 1960, 62–64.

176 Cf. Rev. 20.2: “And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan.”

177 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) προηυτρέπιζεν for the Bonn edition's προευτρέπιζεν.

178 On this speech see Karapli 1993, 237–238.

179 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) ένόν for the Bonn edition's ένι.

- λαὸς πονηρός, δυσμενής, αἰμορρόφος,
 60 φύλον πονηρὸν Ἴσμαῖλ δουλοσπόρου.
 Τοιαῦτα μὲν πράττοντες ἦσαν ἐν ζάλη
 βίας τοσαύτης Κρήτες, οἱ πεφευγότες,
 οἱ πολλάκις μὲν εἰσδραμόντες εἰς μάχην,
 καὶ πολλάκις πληγέντες ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ στόλου.
 65 Τί δαὶ τὸ σὸν στράτευμα; τοῖς θαλαττίοις
 οἱ μὲν τόποις ἔκειντο, καὶ γὰρ ἦν κρύος
 βορρᾷ πνέοντος εἰσβολαῖς δυσπρακτίοις· |
 οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες τῶν πυλῶν τὰς ἐξόδους
 τοὺς ἔνδον ἐξέπληττον ἐν παραστάσει.
 70 Μαθῶν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐναντίων
 κοίλοις τόποις βαίνουσαν, ὡς δὲ θηρίον
 θυμοῦ πνέουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δειλανδρίας,
 ἄρχων στρατηγὸς ἐν μάχῃ Νικηφόρος,
 ἄπιστον εἶχε τοῦτο· καὶ παραυτίκα
 75 τάττει τὸ τάγμα τῶν Θρακηθίων ὄλον
 μαθεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο ξένον
 ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ συμφορᾷ πλέκειν δόλους
 τοὺς ἐκκοπέντας ἐπτάκις τῷ σῶ στόλῳ.
 Τούτοις στρατηγὸς ἦν ἀνὴρ ὁ τὸ ξίφος
 80 ποθῶν ὑπὲρ σοῦ, καὶ προτείνων εἰς μάχην,
 καὶ μὴ δεδοικῶς τὴν τομὴν τῶν φασγάνων·
 ὁ καὶ πρὶν εἰς ἀπληστον ἐμπεσῶν γένος
 θάρσει μεγίστῳ, καὶ προθυμίᾳ ξένη,
 καὶ δούς ἑαυτὸν εἰς σφαγὴν μονωτάτως,
 85 καὶ τοὺς ἀνίππους συνταράξας βαρβάρους·
 ὅς, φεῦ, κρατηθεὶς τῇ τροπῇ Μακεδόνων,
 καὶ πρὸς ξένην γῆν δέσμιος κατεσχέθη,
 καὶ τοὺς ῥυποῦντας εἶχε πικροὺς δεσπότης.
 Οὗτος σταλεὶς ἐκείθεν εἰς πρῶτον λόχον,
 90 ἔρωτι πληγῶν, καρδίας ὑπερζέσει,
 μέσον τὸ κοινὸν εὖρε βαρβάρων τέλος,
 ὡς φύλλα ρίψας τῶν μελῶν τὴν τετράδα.
 Ὡς γὰρ μέγιστος καὶ πολύχρονος λύκος |
 ἔμπειρος ὦν ἄρπαξ τε καὶ ποιμνηλάτης,
 95 πεινῶν, ἑαυτὸν τῇ μονῇ τῶν ποιμνίων
 θάρσει προπέμπει, καὶ καταξάνει κύνας,
 ἕως κρατηθῆ, καὶ σφαγῇ τοῖς ἀνδράσι,
 οἱ πολλάκις ἔβρυξαν εἰς αὐτὸν μέγα·

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slaveborn¹⁸⁰ Ismael, was elated without reason and rushed to attack your army. The Cretans who fled did such things amid the storm of great compulsion, often running into battle, and often beaten by your army.

What did your army do? Some were situated in places near the sea—for it was icy cold | due to the unfavourable blasts of the blowing north wind, but others, seizing control of the outlets of the gates, terrified those inside 298 by their presence. Learning that the phalanx of the enemy was coming to the valleys, like a wild beast breathing anger but also cowardice, the leading *strategos* in the battle, Nikephoros, found this unbelievable and immediately assigned the whole regiment of the Thrakesians¹⁸¹ to learn the facts. For indeed it was strange in such a circumstance for those repulsed seven times¹⁸² by your army to weave deceit. The [Thrakesian's] *strategos*¹⁸³ was a man longing to use the sword on your behalf and straining for battle, with no fear of the cut of sword blades. Even before this time he had attacked the greedy race with greatest courage and unusual eagerness, and giving himself to slaughter single-handedly he threw the barbarian infantry into confusion. Alas, overcome due to the flight of the Macedonians he had been led in chains to a foreign land and encountered sordid and bitter masters. Dispatched from there on this first¹⁸⁴ ambush, this man, smitten by passionate intensity and heart boiling over, found the common end in the midst of the barbarians, having cast away his four limbs like [a tree its] leaves. | For 299 just as a very great and very aged wolf, an experienced pillager and flock robber in his hunger launches himself boldly on the fold of the flocks and rends the dogs until he is overpowered and slaughtered by the men who frequently

180 A reference to Hagar (Gen. 16).

181 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) Θρακησιῶν for the Bonn edition's Θρακηδίων. The Thrakesian theme was located in western Asia Minor; see *ODB* 3:2080.

182 See above n. 144.

183 His name, Nikephoros Pastilas (*PmbZ* #25606), is given by Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 1.3–4 (Hase 1828, 8–10); for the different versions of the incident provided by Leo and Theodosios see Lauxtermann forthcoming, who also translates this passage. Leo the Deacon mentions in *Hist.* 1.3 that he was captured a number of times and escaped.

184 This would seem to suggest that the incident happened earlier in the sequence of events presented by Theodosios. In Leo the Deacon's version (*Hist.* 1.3–4) it occurs shortly after the initial landing. Leo says Pastilas was sent to "raid and reconnoitre."

οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐμπεσὼν στρατηγέτης
 100 Ῥώμης κραταιός, καὶ μονωθεὶς εἰς μέσον,
 ἔδειξεν οἴους ἄνδρας ἢ Ῥώμη τρέφει.
 πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν κύκλωθεν πεφραγμένων,
 πάντες τὸ κοινὸν ἐπτοοῦντο τοῦ τέλους·
 ὡς γὰρ κεραυνὸν εἶχε χερσὶ τὸ ξίφος,
 105 κινῶν κατ' ἐχθρῶν, καὶ καθαιμάττων φόνους,
 ᾧ τοὺς μὲν ἐξέκοπτε τῶν ἐναντιῶν,
 ἄλλους κατηνάγκαζε φεύγειν ἐντρόμους,
 ἄλλους, θεὸν κράζειν σε πείθων εἰς μάχην,
 νεκροὺς ἐδείκνυ, καὶ πεφυρμένους κόνει.
 110 Ὅμως δὲ πληγείς, καὶ πεσῶν ξένοις τόποις,
 πολλοὺς προεξένησεν τῷ στρατῷ πόνους.
 Καὶ δὴ δραμόντες ἰππῶται, πεζόδρομοι
 κρημνοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ φαραγγῶδεις τόπους,
 πάντας καθείρξαν, καὶ κατέκλεισαν μέσον,
 115 καὶ βρῶσιν εἰργάσαντο Κρήτας ὀρνέων.
 Τοσοῦτον αὐτὸς εὐτύχησας ἐν μάχῃ,
 τοσοῦτον αὐτὸς ἐκράτησας βαρβάρων,
 ἐκ τῆς ἄνω ῥοπῆς τε καὶ συνεργίας.
 Ἴδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ φοβηθεὶς εὐθέως |
 120 ὁ Καραμούντης ἐν χρόνοις ὁ δυσγέρων
 βάλλει τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ φρονήματος κάτω,
 φυγῇ δὲ χράται πεζός· ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος,
 ὅπῃ δὲ μικρᾷ προστρέχει πετροστίγῳ,
 κτάται δ' ἐκείθεν δυστυχή σωτηρίαν.
 125 Ἔδει, γέρον, θανεῖν σε πολλῶν πρὸ χρόνων,
 ἥπερ κλονεῖσθαι καὶ παρεισδύνειν πέτραις,
 ὥσπερ λαγωγὸς ἐκφυγῶν κυνηγέτας.
 Ἐκεῖ καθεσθεὶς μέχρι δυσμοῦ ἡλίου,
 ἐρῶρανε τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκ τῶν δακρύων
 130 κλαίων τὸ πικρὸν τραῦμα τῆς δυσβουλίας,
 βάλλων ἑαυτὸν δυσπαλαίσταις φροντίσι.
 Πρώτης δὲ νυκτὸς ἐξαναστάς τοῖς ἔσω
 ἤλαυνε κρημνοῖς τῶν ὀρῶν ἀγωνία
 γέρων Ἀμηρᾶς πεζός, ἀλλὰ τετράπους·
 135 βίαν γὰρ εἶχεν, ἥτις αὐτοῦ τὰς χέρας
 ἐπεκράτυεν εἰς ποδῶν ὑπουργίαν.
 Ὁ σὸς δέ, παμμέγιστε Ῥωμανέ, στόλος
 τείχῃ στραφεὶς ἔπληττεν ἐν προθυμία,
 χαίρων κατασπῶν ταῦτα, ρίπτων εἰς χθόνα.

loudly gnashed their teeth at him,¹⁸⁵ so that Roman *strategetes* attacked, a powerful man alone in their midst, and showed what kind of men Rome fosters. For when many surrounded and hemmed him¹⁸⁶ in, they all feared the common end; for he used the sword in his hands like a thunderbolt, and moving against the enemy he spilled blood with slaughter, whereby he cut down some of the enemy, while he compelled others to flee trembling, and prevailing on others to call you [Romanos] a god in battle,¹⁸⁷ he rendered them corpses defiled with dust. Nevertheless wounded and falling in foreign territory he procured for the army many toils.

Indeed the cavalry at a run [and] the infantry surrounded and enclosed all those crags and ravines¹⁸⁸ in between them and turned the Cretans into food for birds. So greatly were you yourself [Romanos] successful in battle, so greatly did you yourself overcome the barbarians with influence and cooperation from on high. | Seeing this and in panic the vile man old in years, Karamountes, immediately cast aside his arrogant pride and turned to flight on foot, but indeed he ran alone to a small hole cut in the rock¹⁸⁹ and obtained there ill-starred salvation. You ought, old man, to have died many years ago, rather than be pursued and enter into the rocks like a hare fleeing hunters. Stopping there at sunset he soaked his face with tears, weeping for the bitter defeat of his faulty plan, throwing himself into anxieties hard to wrestle with. Arising at the first [hour] of night the old emir proceeded within the crags of the mountains in anguish, on foot, but on four feet. For he was compelled to force his hands to serve as feet. But your army, all-greatest Romanos, eagerly turned to the walls and was attacking them joyfully, dragging them down, throwing them to the ground.¹⁹⁰ |

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185 Cf. Ps. 36 (37):12.

186 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) ἀτόν for the Bonn edition's ἀτῶν.

187 See above Theodosios the Deacon [290:120–121] “they ... cried out to their horse as if a god” and Panagiotakes 1960, 164, n. line 108.

188 i.e. from which these Cretan troops had come; see above Theodosios the Deacon [295:7–8].

189 Cf. Jer. 13.

190 Chandax fell on the seventh of March, 961 (see Tsougarakis 1988, 72 n. 207).

ΑΚΡΟΑΣΙΣ Ε΄. |

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- Γῆ πάσα Ῥώμης, καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ πόλις,
 βουνοί, φάραγγες, ἄστρα, τῶν ἀειρῦτων
 ὕδωρ ποταμῶν, τάγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
 τὰ πάντα κοινῇ συγχάρητε δεσπότη.
- 5 Ἀγαλλιᾶσθω πλήθος ἀστέρων ἄνω,
 χορευέτω δὲ τάξις ἀγγέλων, ὅτι
 τὸ δυσπρόσιτον θηρίον κατεσφάγη,
 τὸ δεινόμορφον κήτος ἀντανηρέθη,
 τὸ δυσκάθεκτον τραῦμα γῆς ἀνεστάλη.
- 10 Κήρυξον αἰθὴρ τοῦτο πᾶσαν εἰς χθόνα,
 βόησον, ἀστὴρ ἥλιε, τρέχων ἄνω
 τοῖς βαρβάροις νῦν τὴν σφαγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων.
 Γνώτωσαν ἔθνη, καὶ πόλεις, καὶ χωρία
 τὸ τοῦ μεγίστου Ῥωμανοῦ νέον κράτος.
- 15 Μάθωσιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀκοιμήτους πόνους,
 οἴους δι' ἡμᾶς ἔσχεν ὁ στεφηφόρος.
 Λάβωσιν αὐτοῦ πείραν ἐκ τῶν πλησίον,
 πρὶν ἢ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ σφαγεὺς ἀναδράμη.
 Τῆς Ἀφρικῆς γῆς φρίζατε ξιφηφόροι·
- 20 ταράσσεται γὰρ Ταρσεωτῶν ἡ πόλις.
 Ἄράν παλαιάν, Ἀράβων φύλη, λάβης
 δουρὶ κραταιοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ· πλὴν ἐν τάχει
 τῶν δελεμιτῶν, βελεβιτῶν τοὺς τόπους
 πείσει καλεῖσθαι σὸν βέλος, σκηπτροκράτορ.
- 25 Αἰγυπτίων δέ, χαίρε, γύπες σὼ ξίφει |
 σάρκας καταβρώξουσι τὰς ἀσυστάτους.
 Χαυδᾶς ὁ χανδὸν γῆν ὄλην λαβεῖν θέλων,
 χανῶν ἀναυδος συμφορᾷ Κρητῶν μένει.
 ὦ Χριστὲ Πατὴρ τοῦ πρὸ αἰώνων τέκνον,
- 30 οἶον παρέσχου σὼ στεφηφόρῳ κλέος.
 Τίς ἂν στενάξῃ τὸν Πολυξένης τάφον;
 τίς τὴν Φρυγῶν ἄλωσιν; ὦ χορὸς νέων,
 ὅσοις Ὀμήρου φροντίς ἢ τῶν σκεμμάτων,

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Recitation Five

All the land of Rome and sea and city, hills, ravines, stars, water of ever-flowing rivers, the clerical order, you should all congratulate a common sovereign [Romanos]. Let the multitude of stars above rejoice, let the company of angels dance, because the unapproachable wild beast has been slaughtered, the hideous-shaped sea monster has been extirpated, the almost incurable wound of the earth healed. Herald this, upper air, to all the earth, cry out to barbarians now the slaughter of the barbarians, star sun, as you run upward. Let nations and cities and country regions know the new power of the very great Romanos, let them learn of his unsleeping toils, how many the crowned [emperor] undertook for our sake. Let them take from their neighbours the experience of him before the slayer [Romanos] goes up against them. Sword-bearers of Africa¹⁹¹ shudder; for the city of the Tarsians is in disarray. Tribe of the Arabs, may you experience an old curse¹⁹² by the spear of powerful Romanos, but soon. Powerful sceptred one, your weapon will persuade the lands of the Delemites¹⁹³ to be called those of the Belemites.¹⁹⁴ | Hail, the vultures will devour the decomposing flesh of the Egyptians¹⁹⁵ due to [your] sword. Chaudas¹⁹⁶ who desires to greedily take all the earth remains mouth agape, speechless at the slaughter of the Cretans.¹⁹⁷ O Christ, Son of the Father before the ages, what glory You have furnished to Your crowned [emperor]! Who now would wail over the grave of Polyxena,¹⁹⁸ who over the capture of the Phrygians?¹⁹⁹ O chorus of young men, however many of you care about the speculations of Homer, do not be deceived

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191 Presumably the Fatamids under the caliph al-Mu'izz.

192 Perhaps a reference to Gen. 16:12, where the angel tells Hagar that her son Ismael "He shall be a wild ass of a man, with his hand against everyone, and everyone's hand against him."

193 On the Delemites, see above, Vat. gr. 163, chap. 22 with n. 53.

194 Following Panagiotake's (1960) Βελεμιτών for the Bonn edition's βελεβιτών. The word-play depends on the Greek βέλος ("belos") "weapon," "arrow."

195 The Ikhshidid dynasty.

196 Sayf al-Dawla.

197 For the various puns in the Greek throughout this section see Kazhdan 2006, 276.

198 The daughter of Priam, she is not mentioned by Homer, but is mentioned in the Epic Cycle. Given the reference to the Trojans as Phrygians that follows, a usage not found until the 5th century (see Hall 1988), the allusion may be to Euripides's *Trojan Women* and/or *Hecuba* where Polyxena is sacrificed to the ghost of Achilles.

199 Here Phrygians = Trojans, a non-Homeric usage. In the *Iliad* (16.715) Hecuba is said to be a Phrygian and the Phrygians are allies of the Trojans. In the fifth-century dramatists the two are conflated. See previous note.

35 μὴ τοῖς λόγοις κλέπτεσθε τοῦ γεροντίου,
 μὴ τοῖς κτύποις θέλγεσθε τοῦ μυθοπλόκου.
 Ψευδὴ γὰρ ἰστόρησεν, εἰ καὶ πανσόφως,
 ὁ πηρός, ὡς θέλγητρα τοὺς λόγους ἔχων.
 Κρήτης κροτεῖτε τὴν ἄλωσιν, ἣν χρόνος
 καθεῖλε δουρὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἀνακτόρων·
 40 Κρήτης ἐκείνης τοῦ Διὸς τῆς πατρίδος,
 Διὸς τυράννου, δαίμονος ψευδωνύμου,
 ὃς εὔρε τὴν κάμινον ἄλλ' αἰώνιαν,
 ἀνθ' ᾧ ἑαυτὸν ἦν θεὸν στήγας κάτω·
 ἀνθ' ᾧ ἐπλησε γῆν σφαγῆς μiasμάτων·
 45 ἀνθ' ᾧ ὑπῆρξεν εὐρετῆς παθημάτων.
 Ταύτης ὁ κλεινός, ὁ γλυκὺς Ῥώμης κλάδος,
 ὁ παγγάληνος, ὁ σφαγεὺς τῶν βαρβάρων,
 ὁ πανσέβαστος καὶ διώκτης Συρίας, |
 ταύτην καθ' ἡμῶν φλεγμονὰς πυρεκβόλους
 50 πέμπουσεν ἐκράτησεν. ᾧ μέγα σθένος,
 ᾧ δίστομα τρίκογχα, δίστομα ξίφη,
 βέλη δὲ τὰ τρίκογχα, πάγχαλκα κράνη,
 τὰ τὴν σφαγὴν δρᾶσαντα τῶν μαιφόνων,
 ἢ τοὺς φόνους στήσαντα τοὺς καθημέραν,
 55 οὓς εἶχεν ἡ θάλασσα ληστρικωτέρους.
 Ἦ πετροπόμπων σφενδονῶν στροφοργαίαι,
 ἵππων φριμαγμός, ὀξύτης ἀκοντίων,
 σπάθης τε, καὶ θώρακες, ἀσπίδος τάσις,
 ἃ γῆν κατηδάφισε βαρβαρουμένην,
 60 ἃ δεσπότης δέδωκεν ἀντὶ φαρμάκων,
 καὶ κόσμον ἐξέσωσε τῆς τυραννίδος.
 Ἦ ναυστολήσαν πνεῦμα μυρία σκάφη,
 καὶ πομπὸς ὀφθὲν ἀβλαβῆς τοῦ δεσπότης.
 Θρήνησον ᾧ γῆ πᾶσα νῦν τῆς Συρίας,
 65 ἔχουσα τὸν σὸν τῆς βοῆς πρωτοστάτην,
 τὸν σὸν πλανήτην, οὐ προφήτην, Μωάμεθ,
 οὐ τὸν χιτῶνα μυρίαῖς αἰσχροουργαῖς
 πεφυρμένον κρύπτουσιν οἱ δούλης γόνοι·
 κρύπτουσιν ὡς ἄσπιλον ἐσπιλωμένον·
 70 ἔχουσιν ὡς ἄχραντον ἐγκεχαμμένον. |
 Ἦδεῖ γὰρ ὄντας ἐκ μiasμάτων ἄγη
 καλεῖν ἄχραντον τοὺς ξενοσπόρους ἄγος.
 Χόρευε λοιπὸν Ἀφρικῶν Σικελία,

303

304

by the words of the little old man, do not be charmed by the noise of the myth-weaver. He narrated falsehoods, even if all wisely, the blind man whose words were like spells. Applaud the capture of Crete which time took by the spear of the wise emperors; that [same] Crete, fatherland of Zeus,²⁰⁰ Zeus the tyrant, falsely named a deity, who found the furnace, but an eternal one,²⁰¹ because he set himself up as a god below [on earth]; because he filled the earth with the pollution of slaughter; because he became the discoverer of sufferings.

The famous, the sweet scion of Rome, the all-gentle one, the slayer | of 303
 barbarians, the all-august and pursuer of Syria,²⁰² conquered this²⁰³ [Crete]
 which was sending ballistic fiery heat²⁰⁴ against us. O great might, O two-
 edged, three-pronged, two-edged swords, three-pronged²⁰⁵ javelins, all-
 bronze helmets, bringing about the slaughter of the blood-stained [bar-
 barians], or daily setting up the killing of them, those very pirates of the
 sea.²⁰⁶ O twisting of the stone-launching slings, the neighing of the horses,
 the sharpness of javelins, the extending of sword and corslet,²⁰⁷ of shield,
 which utterly dashed down the barbarian land, [things] which the sovereign
 gave as remedies and saved the world from tyranny. O wind that conveyed
 myriad ships, revealed as the beneficial escort of the sovereign. O lament
 now, all the land of Syria, having as your leader of the cry²⁰⁸ your deceiver
 not your prophet, Moameth, whose tunic²⁰⁹ defiled with myriad shameful
 acts²¹⁰ the slave woman's offspring hide; they hide the spotted as if spot-
 less; | they hold the stained as if stainless; for being defiled from pollution, 304
 those of strange seed must call defilement immaculate. Rejoice Sicily of the

200 The birth of Zeus on Crete is first told by Hesiod, *Theog.* 453–506.

201 In contrast to Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego who were cast into Nebuchadnezzar's furnace for refusing to worship the golden idol, but were not burnt; see Dan. 3.

202 The reference seems more appropriate to Phokas than Romanos; see Panagiotakes 1960, 166, n. line 48.

203 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *ταύτην* for the Bonn edition's *ταύτη*.

204 See the same phrase above, Theodosios the Deacon [272:217].

205 Apparently a reference to the three prongs of a spearhead. The term *τρίκογχος* may be his alternative for the Homeric *τριγλῶχης*, "three-barbed."

206 See Setton 1954.

207 Following Panagiotakes's (1960) *θώρακος* for the Bonn edition's *θώρακες*.

208 i.e. "Allah is greater."

209 On Muhammad's mantle (*burda*) "which became synonymous with the caliphate" see Meri 2010, esp. 112–116.

210 On the topos of soiled garments as a term of abuse see Hermes 2009, 53–54.

- εὐαγγελίζου πάσι τὴν εὐθυμίαν.
 75 ἔλευθεροὶ σε συντόμως ὁ δεσπότης.
 Χόρευε γῆ, χόρευε Ῥωμαίων ὄση,
 ὡς ἠτύχησας εἰς ἀνακτόρων στέφη,
 ὡς ἐπλάτυνας εἰς τὰ πατρῶα πλάτη,
 ὡς ἐκράτησας τῶν πάλους κρατουμένων.
 80 Εἶθε προκύψαις τοῦ τάφου, Κωνσταντίνε,
 εἶθε σκοπήσαις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ Συρίας.
 Ἔγνωσ ἂν υἱόν, ὡς Φίλιππος, ἱππότην·
 καὶ τοῦτον εἶπες, “ὦ τέκνον, ζῆτει κράτος,
 οὐκ ἀρκετόν σοι γῆς ὄλης καὶ γὰρ κράτος.”
 85 Κρήτης γὰρ οἶος τῶν ὀδουρμάτων στόνος.
 οἶος σπαραγμός, γυμνὰ Ῥωμαίων ξίφη
 ὅταν κατεῖδον ἔνδοθεν πυργωμάτων,
 ὅταν κατεῖδον τέκνα μικρὰ μητέρας,
 τὰς μὲν βρόχοις ὀπισθεν ἐστρεβλωμένας,
 90 τὰς δὲ πρὸς αἷμα καὶ κόνιν πεφυρμένας.
 Τὰς δὲ στοιχηδὸν εἰς σφαγὴν προκειμένας.
 Ἐκεῖ τὰ τέκνα πατέρας, καὶ πατέρες
 παῖδας κατησπάζοντο, καὶ κοινῇ ξίφος
 κρουνηδὸν ὀρμαῖς ἔβρεχον τῶν αἱμάτων. |
 95 Ἐπῆρχε θρήνος, ἦν βοή πορθουμένων.
 Οὐκ ἦν προφήτης ἰσχύων, οὐδὲ σπάθη·
 αὕτη γὰρ ἐχθροῖς ὡς θεὸς τιμωμένη.
 Ἐκεῖ γέροντες εἰς φυγὴν ὠρμηκότες
 ὀπισθεν ἐπλήττοντο τοῖς ἀκοντίοις.
 100 Ἐκεῖ νέους φεύγοντας ἢ χιτωνίων
 ἄζωστος εἰς ὄλισθον ἔκλωθε τάσις,
 καὶ συμποδισμόν ἐμπαρεῖχεν ἀξίως
 νόμος παλαιὸς πατρικὸς τοῖς βαρβάροις.
 Τῶν οὖν στρατηγῶν ἦν ὑπηκόοις νόμος,
 105 καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σῆς προσταγῆς, σκηπτροκράτορ,
 μὴ πρὸς γυναῖκας πορνικῶς καθυβρίσαι,
 μήπως τὸ σεμνὸν εἰς ἀβαπτίστους κόρας
 βάπτισμα χρανθῆ, καὶ μολυνθῆ σου στόλος.
 Τοσοῦτον ἐφρόντιζες οἰκετῶν, ἀναξ,
 110 ὡς μέχρι λεπτῶν προφθάνειν σου τοὺς λόγους,
 καὶ μέχρι τούτων συνταπεινοῦσθαι φίλοις.
 Καὶ γὰρ φίλος σοι πᾶς κρατῶν τὴν ἀσπίδα,
 καὶ πᾶς ὁ τείνων τὴν μάχαιραν ἐν μάχαις,

Africans,²¹¹ henceforth, announce to everyone the good cheer. The sovereign soon frees you, rejoice earth, rejoice all that belong to the Romans, as you have been made fortunate in the crowns of [your] sovereigns, as you have extended your ancestral territory, as you have conquered those conquered of old.²¹² Would that you might peer forth from your grave, Constantine,²¹³ would that you might observe the situation in Syria. You would recognize a son who is a cavalryman, as did Philip [of Macedon]. And you would tell him, “O son, seek power, for not sufficient for you is the power even over the whole earth.”²¹⁴ What wailing lamentation there was for Crete, what agony when they saw the bare swords of the Romans within their towers, when small children saw mothers, some twisted in nooses from behind, others defiled with blood and dust, others exposed in lines to slaughter. There the children clung to fathers, fathers to children, and they were mutually | moistening the sword[s] with rushes of blood like a spring. There was lamentation, there was the cry of the plundered. Nor was the prophet powerful, nor [his] sword²¹⁵— for this is honoured by the enemy like a god. There old men headlong in flight were struck from behind by javelins. There the unbelted extension of their robes twisted fleeing young men into slipping and the ancient paternal law deservedly caused the barbarians’ feet to become entangled.

305

There was a law of the *strategoï* for the subjects and this a result of your command, sceptred emperor, not to rape women, lest august baptism be defiled with unbaptized girls and your army be polluted. Such was your concern for your servants, ruler, that your words anticipated even minute things, and even in these you humbled yourself for your friends. For your friend was everyone wielding a shield, everyone extending the sword in battle, everyone

211 The Kalbids, a Muslim Arab dynasty in Sicily, appointed by the Fatimids, which ruled from 948 to 1053. Nikephoros Phokas sent an expedition to Sicily in 964–965, but it failed; see Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 4.7–8 (Hase 1828, 65–67).

212 i.e. Romanos has surpassed his predecessors who were conquered by the Arabs; see Panagiotakes 1960, 168, n. line 79.

213 Constantine VII, father of Romanos II.

214 Cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* 6, where Philip says, “My son, seek a kingdom equal to you, for Macedonia is too small for you.”

215 On Muhammad’s sword, see Alexander 1999. The sword is also mentioned by Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.1 (Hase 1828, 76); see Talbot and Sullivan 2005, 126 n. 5.

καὶ πᾶς ὁ φεύγων τὴν πικρὰν δειλανδρίαν.

- 115 Οὕτω ταραγμὸς εἶχε Κρητῶν τὴν πόλιν,
τὴν οὖσαν, ὡς πρὶν, καὶ πάλιν Ῥώμης πόλιν,
πόλιν ποθητὴν, τὴν ἐπηρμένην πόλιν,
τὴν ἐξάκουστον, τὴν πολὺπλουτον πόλιν.
Ἦκουσε Ταρσός, καὶ κατασκάπτει τάφρους· |
καὶ πύργον ὑψοί, καὶ σιδηροὶ τὰς πύλας,
καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ, συμφοραῖς ἀλλοτρίαις
122 τὸ μέλλον αὐτῇ προβλέπουσα φορτίον.

fleeing bitter cowardice. Thus confusion prevailed in the city of the Cretans, the city that is, as once before, again a Roman city, a desired city, an extraordinary city, a famous city, the rich city,²¹⁶ | Tarsos²¹⁷ heard and is digging moats 306 and raising the tower, and fitting the gates with iron and doing everything, foreseeing in others' misfortunes the burden coming upon her.²¹⁸



FIGURE 2 Nikephoros II Phokas's Entry into Constantinople. From the Madrid Skylitzes fi45r/b

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216 On the wealth of Chandax, much of it displayed in Phokas's subsequent triumph, see Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 2.8 (Hase 1828, 27).

217 Tarsos fell to Nikephoros Phokas on August 16, 965; see Garrood 2008, 138.

218 Lauxtermann forthcoming suggests that these final four lines are a later addition referring to Phokas's preparations in late spring / early summer 963 for an attack on Tarsos.

Akolouthia for St Nikephoros Phokas

Introduction

An *akolouthia* (liturgical office for a new saint) was written for Nikephoros II Phokas, declaring him a martyr and a saint, presumably by a contemporary. The text is preserved in a single manuscript (Lavra 124 fols 133–149) and was edited by Petit 1904, 401–420.¹

The Text

The text consists of two *kathismata*, *stichera*, two *kanons*, another *kathisma*, other *stichera*, a *kontakion*, an *oikos*, and an *exapostilarion*.²

The first *kathisma* focuses on Phokas's combination of military success and asceticism, comparing his death to those of Abel and Zachariah, the second on his conquest of the passions and merciful rule over the people and, by his shedding of blood, his sanctification of the people. The *stichera* note his victories and virtue and the reward for his death as a “comrade of martyrs” in paradise. His slaughter is seen as a ladder to martyrdom, and the author records the use of his severed head as an object of sport by his assassins.

The first *kanon* again stresses Phokas's combination of military and ascetic accomplishments, notably calls him a monk and a model for monks, associates him with the imagery of light versus darkness, refers to him as a priest, describes the assassination, and associates him by name with the first martyr Stephen in that he prayed for the forgiveness of his murderers. It also portrays him as a sacrificial victim, describes his funeral procession and interment, calls him an angel, refers to his spiritual protection of the faithful, and sees him as a source of miracles. Each of the odes in the *kanon* ends with a *theotokion* which stresses the theme of the Incarnation, the marriage of God with humanity and God's deification of humanity.

1 Ed. Petit, *BZ* 13 1904, 401–420.

2 On the liturgical rite of the *akolouthia* and its components see Spanos 2010, 5–13. See, too, the Glossary (Technical Terms) in the present volume.

The second *kanon* begins with the author's prayer for inspiration to record Phokas's achievements; there follow descriptions of Phokas's adherence to the commandments, his successful navigation of the sea of life, his ascetic practices, his conquest of the Hagarenes, his care for the poor, his willingness not to defend himself when attacked by his assassins, his ability to cure diseases, and the holy oil flowing from his coffin as a source of cures for the faithful. The *theotokia* of this *kanon* focus on the special relationship Phokas had with the Theotokos. His success is with her aid, he has been initiated by her, she is his co-worker and unshaken support, his ambassador and salvific intercessor, his aid in life. One may add that Leo the Deacon³ notes that Phokas when first struck by his assassins cried out, "Help me, O mother of God," and that as he was dying, "kept calling on the mother of God for assistance."

The following *kathisma*, the third, describes Phokas's passage through the gate of heaven and the faithful's embrace of his dust and reverence for an icon of him. The *stichera* speak of his asceticism and sacrifice as a martyr, his courage in the face of death, his double baptism in tears and blood, and his worldwide fame as soldier, emperor, ascetic, and martyr, accomplishments which the City has gathered to celebrate. The *kontakion* hails Phokas as the victor and asks for his intercession, the *oikos* speaks of the difficulty of adequately declaring his prowess in defeating the Ishmaelites and rescuing the faithful from captivity, and the *exapostilarion* asks all creation to celebrate Phokas as victor over barbarians and demons, and as a source of miracles.

The Author

The author is unknown. Petit argues that the absence of any reference to Mount Athos or its monks makes it unlikely that the *akolouthia* originated there. He also notes the animosity that Phokas's novella, restricting monasteries,⁴ created in the monastic community. He suggests rather a member of the Constantinopolitan secular clergy and tentatively posits, based on some verbal similarities, Theodosios the Deacon, author of the panegyric poem *De Creta capta*. The similarities are to my view slight and one notes that the author of the *akolouthia* in the third ode of the first *kanon* calls Phokas a "monk" and a "role model for monks." While Phokas's relations with Athanasios of Athos were mixed, as were the views of him by the monks there, a vignette in the *Life of Athanasios of Athos*⁵ describes a monk-cook of Lavra who also calls Phokas a martyr and who

3 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.7 (Hase 1828, 88).

4 See McGeer 2000, 90–96.

5 *Vita of Athanasios of Athos, Version B* (Noret 1982, 178–179).

received Phokas's posthumous assistance in response to a prayer. Thus while the available evidence allows no firm conclusion, a monastic author still seems possible.⁶ The emotional content of the piece seems to suggest a contemporary, as Petit argued.

Death and Martyrdom

The primary source for the assassination of Phokas is Leo the Deacon.⁷ The *akolouthia* provides some corroboration of Leo's account and some interesting additional perspectives whose historical value is not absolutely clear. Both texts mention that the assassins found the emperor (and ascetic) sleeping on the ground, not in his bed. Leo mentions that Phokas was decapitated; only the *akolouthia* records that his head was rolled under the bed and made an object of sport. Given the brutality of the murder as Leo describes it, this seems a plausible addition. Leo indicates that the body was put in a wooden coffin and taken secretly to The Church of the Holy Apostles; the *akolouthia* confirms the secrecy and adds that the multitude escorting the body were constrained from singing hymns and were in fear and awe at the interment as they saw the body of Phokas "enveloped in purple from [streams of] blood." The *akolouthia* alone indicates twice that the gravesite had become a source of miraculous holy oil and adds that the faithful "embrace your dust in faith and we revere the likeness of your appearance."

The case for martyrdom and sainthood is carefully made. Phokas is said to have offered no resistance and, like the first martyr Stephen, to have prayed for forgiveness for his assassins. He is said to take the crown (of martyrdom) with Abel and Zachariah. His bloodshed is frequently mentioned: he is asleep and thus defenceless when initially attacked, his desire was to drink the cup that Christ drank, he is described frequently as a sacrificial offering, his remains gush forth curative holy oil, and he is said to provide "overshadowing" protection to those on earth from his place in heaven. In one metaphor he is said by the light of his works to have been found by God to be like a shining lamp and thus was placed on the lampstand of the empire, thereby drawing all to the light. Despite the deeply felt and carefully presented case, the cult never resulted in his acceptance as a saint.

⁶ See Dagrón 2003, 152 who notes the problematic relationships, but does suggest the influence of the Lavra in the attempt to create the cult.

⁷ Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.6–9 (Hase 1828, 85–91).

I have added in footnotes a fuller version of the *irmoi* (the standard hymns indicating the tune to be chanted) when the text is perhaps somewhat cryptic. I have added [Theotokion] above the final *troparion* of each ode; the term does not appear in the Greek.

Μηνὶ δεκεμβρίῳ εἰς τὰς ἰα΄· μνήμη τοῦ ἐν βασιλευσὶν αἰοῖδιμου
Νικηφόρου τοῦ Φωκά.

Κάθισμα εἰς τὸ Θεὸς κύριος.

ἦχος γ΄. πρὸς <τὸ> Θείας πίστεως ὁμολογία.

- 5 Θεῖῳ πνεύματι | καθωπλισμένους
ἔθνη βάρβαρα | καθυποτάξας,
τῆς βασιλείας τὰ ὄρια ἠΰξησας,
φιλοπρωχίαν νηστεία ἐπόθησας,
σκληραγωγία ἐκτήσω ταπεινώσιν.
10 ὄθεν εἰληφας
μετὰ Ἄβελ καὶ Ζαχαρίου τὸν στέφανον·
διὸ καὶ συνδεδόξασαι
δικαίοις εὐφραϊνόμενος.

Ἄλλο.

- 15 ἦχος πλ. δ΄. πρὸς <τὸ> Τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ λόγου.
Βασιλεύσας τὸ πρῶτον, μάκαρ, παθῶν,
βασιλεύεις τὸ δεύτερον καὶ λαῶν,
πρᾶος γνωριζόμενος,
συμπαθῆς, ἐλεήμων,
20 καρτερικὸς ἐν πόνοις,
ἐν πάλαις ἀνένδοτος,
φοβερός τοῖς δαίμοσι,
πιστοῖς δὲ εὐπρόσιτος.
ὄθεν καὶ τὴν κάραν ἐκτμηθεῖς,
25 ἀγιάζεις τῷ λύθρῳ τοῦ αἵματος
τῶν πιστῶν τὰ πληρώματα,
Νικηφόρε αἰοῖδιμε·
πρέσβευε (Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ,
τῶν πταισμάτων ἄφεσιν δωρήσασθαι |
30 τοῖς ἐορτάζουσι πόθῳ
τὴν ἀγίαν μνήμην σου).

For the eleventh of the month of December. Commemoration of
Nikephoros Phokas revered among emperors.

Kathisma at the “God is Lord.”

Mode 3. To [the] “Confession of divine faith.”

Armed with the divine Spirit, having subjected barbarian tribes, you increased the bounds of the empire, you desired poverty through fasting, you possessed humility through asceticism. Thus you took the crown with Abel and Zachariah;⁸ wherefore rejoicing you were also glorified with⁹ the just.

Another [*Kathisma*]

Plagal mode 4. To [the] “The Wisdom of the Word.”¹⁰

First, blessed one, having ruled the passions, next you also ruled the people, becoming known as gentle, compassionate, merciful, patient in labours, unyielding in struggles, fearsome to demons, accessible to the faithful. And so indeed being decapitated you sanctified with the gore of your blood the total numbers of the faithful, revered Nikephoros: prevail upon [Christ God to grant remission of sins | to those who in love celebrate your holy commemoration].

402

8 Cf. Mt. 23:35 and Lk. 11:51.

9 Cf. Rom. 8:17.

10 Petit 1904 notes that the correct version is “The Wisdom and Word”: “By conceiving the Wisdom and Word of God in your womb inexplicably, mother of God.”

Στιχηρά.

ἦχος πλ. δ΄. πρὸς (τὸ) Ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου
 Νίκαις ἐπαρθεῖς τὸ πρότερον
 35 καὶ ἀρετῶν ταῖς σπουδαῖς
 γεγονῶς περιβόητος,
 ἐν ὑστέρω αἵματος
 βραχυτάτου οὐράνιον
 ἠλλάξω νίκην
 40 καὶ πόλιν μένουσαν,
 γέρα καὶ στέφη
 ζωῆς ἀκήρατα,
 μάκαρ, δεξάμενος
 ἐκ θεοῦ παράδεισον.
 45 ὄθεν οἰκεῖς
 νίκης ἐνδιαίτημα,
 μαρτύρων σύσκηνος.

Κλίμαξ ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνάγουσα
 τῶν χαμερπῶν προκοπῶν
 50 ἢ σφαγή σοι γεγένηται
 πρὸς μαρτύρων ὕψωμα
 καὶ ἀθάνατον εὐκλειαν.
 καταγελάται
 μὲν γὰρ ὁ δίκαιος,
 55 πλὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ,
 ἐν ἐξαισίῳ δὲ
 φαῦλος ἐλέγχεται,
 τῷ θανάτῳ, ἔνδικον
 δίκην διδούς·
 60 ὄθεν σὺ τῆς κρείττονος
 νίκης τετύχηκας.

Stichera

Plagal mode 4. To [the] "Oh the strange."¹¹

Elevated by victories first and become famous by your eagerness for virtues, later you received in exchange for the very littlest of blood heavenly victory and *a lasting city*,¹² rewards and pure crowns of life, blessed one, receiving from God paradise. Thus you inhabit a dwelling place of victory, a messmate of martyrs.

Your slaughter became a ladder leading from the lowly preferments of the earth to the lofty height of martyrs and immortal glory. *The just man is mocked* but briefly, *the worthless man refuted by violent death*,¹³ paying the just penalty. Thus you obtained the greater victory.

11 "O the strange wonder."

12 Heb. 13:14.

13 Cf. Job 9:23.

Ὡ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος·
 ἢ ἱερά κεφαλή
 καὶ ἀγγέλοις αἰδέσιμος
 65 ὄψις ὑπὸ σκίμποδι
 ἐκριφείσα ἐπαίζετο,
 καὶ πλέον εἶχεν
 εὐχῶν ἀπόνοια |
 ἀνδρὸς δικαίου
 70 τε γνώμη βάρβαρος.
 ὦ τῶν κριμάτων σου
 τῶν ἀπειρῶν, κύριε,
 οἷς καὶ ζωὴν
 εἶξας ὁ θεράπων σου
 75 κεκληρονόμηκεν.

403

Ὁ κανὼν φέρων ἀκροστιχίδα· Λόγων στέφει στέφω σε, τὸν
 Νικηφόρον.

ὦδὴ α΄. ἦχος πλ. β΄. Ὡς ἐν ἠπείρῳ πεζεύσας.
 Λύθρῳ αἰμάτων οἰκείων
 5 περιχρωσθεῖς,
 ὡς ἐκ πάλης ὤρμησας
 εὐσταλῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν,
 Νικηφόρε, οἶα ἀθλητῆς
 ἐστιῶν δῆμους τοὺς σοὺς
 10 ἄθλοις καὶ θαύμασιν.

Ὁλος ἐκστάς ἀπὸ βρέφους
 τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς
 μολυσμῶν καὶ σκίνωμα
 χρηματίσας ἀρετῶν,
 15 ἐν θεῷ τὸ κράτος τῶν παθῶν
 καὶ τῶν νόσων κατορθοῖς,
 μάκαρ ἀοίδιμε.

O the strange wonder! The holy head and visage revered by the angels was thrown under a bed and made an object of sport,¹⁴ and the | barbaric mad- 403
ness and plan prevailed over the prayers of a just man. O Your boundless judgments, Lord, by yielding to them Your servant also inherited [eternal] life.

The kanon bearing an acrostic: “I crown you with the crown of words, Nikephoros.”

ΛΟΓΩΝ ΣΤΕΦΕΙ ΣΤΕΦΩ ΣΕ ΤΟΝ ΝΙΚΕΦΟΡΟΝ

Ode 1. Plagal mode 2. [To] “As if going on dry ground.”¹⁵

Coloured over with the gore of your own blood, as [if] from battle you rushed well-equipped to heaven, Nikephoros, like an athlete, feasting your people with contests and miracles.

From birth wholly shunning the defilements of the flesh you were called a habitation of virtues, with God you set right the power of sufferings and diseases, revered blessed one.

14 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.9 (Hase 1828, 90–91) indicates that Phokas’s head was shown to his bodyguards to deter their attempt to break into the Palace.

15 Cf. Ex. 14:22.

Γῆν καὶ τὰ κάτω μισήσας,
 τοὺς οὐρανοὺς
 20 καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια
 ἐπεπόθεις ἐκ ψυχῆς·
 ἐκληρώσω ὅθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς
 οὐρανοὶς παρὰ Χριστοῦ
 καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια.

25 Ὡσπερ παστὰς ὑπεδέξω,
 κόρη, θεὸν
 ἐκ σοῦ νυμφευόμενον
 φύσιν ὄλην τὴν ἡμῶν·
 καὶ τῷ ξένῳ θαύματι τρωθεῖς, |
 30 προσκυνεῖ πᾶς τις πιστῶς
 τὸν θεῖον τόκον σου.

404

ὡδὴ γ'. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος.
 Νεκρῶν σοροῖς μέσων νυκτῶν
 ἐνστρεφόμενος, μάκαρ,
 35 τὸν τοῖς μέλεσι ζῶντα
 τοῖς σοῖς ἐχθρὸν ἐκνεκροῖς,
 καὶ ζῆς φυγῶν ἀληθῶς
 τὰ τοῦ σκότους
 ἔργα καὶ νεκρώσεως.

40 Συνάψας πᾶσαν ἀσκητῶν
 ἐπιστήμην, τοῖς ὄπλοις
 στρατηγεῖς καὶ μονάζεις,
 καὶ γίνῃ βέλος ἐχθροῖς,
 κανῶν δὲ τοῖς μονασταῖς,
 45 στρατιώτης
 Χριστοῦ περιδέξιος.

Τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος σαυτῷ
 περιθεῖς πανοπλίαν,
 χωρεῖς οὕτω πρὸς μάχας·
 50 ἐντεῦθεν θάλασσα, γῆ
 δουλοῦταί σοι, τοῦ θεοῦ
 σὲ τιμῶντος
 τούτοις, ἀεισέβαστε.

You hated the earth and the things below, heaven and the things of heaven you desired from your soul. And so you inherited also from Christ the things of the earth together with the heavens themselves.

[*Theotokion*]

Like a bridal chamber you received, young girl, God Who through you married our entire nature. | Wounded by this wondrous miracle, everyone faithfully reverences your divine Son. 404

Ode 3. “He is not holy.”¹⁶

Turning in coffins of corpses during the midnight hours, blessed one, you killed the enemy living *in your members*,¹⁷ and you lived truly fleeing *the works of darkness*¹⁸ and of death.

After gathering all the knowledge of ascetics and so armed, you were a *strategos* and a monk, and you were a weapon against the enemy, but a role model for monks, an extraordinary soldier of Christ.

You enveloped yourself in a panoply from the spirit,¹⁹ and so you went into battles. Thereby sea [and] land were subservient to you, as God honoured you on them, ever-august one.

16 “He is not holy as the Lord.” *Kanons* other than those for Lent were composed without the second ode.

17 Rom. 7:23.

18 Rom. 13:12.

19 Cf. Eph. 6:11, 13.

Ἐφάνης ἄλλος οὐρανός
 55 καθαρότητος ὕψει,
 ἐν γαστρὶ δεξαμένη
 τὸν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς
 καὶ πάντων δημιουργόν,
 καὶ τὴν φύσιν
 60 σὺ μόνη οὐράνωσας.

ὥδη δ' Χριστός μου δύναμις.
 Φωτὶ τῶν ἔργων σε
 ὡς λύχνον φαίνοντα
 εὐρηκώς, Νικηφόρε,
 65 ὁ φῶς οἰκῶν,
 βασιλείας τίθησιν |
 ἐπὶ λυχνεῖαν, διὰ σοῦ
 πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἔλκων τὴν σύμπασαν.

405

Ἐξαίρει πάντοθεν
 70 ἐκκαιομένη, σοῦ
 εἰσελαύνοντος, πόλις
 ἡ βασιλὶς,
 σωτήρᾶ σε βλέπουσα,
 καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη διὰ σοῦ
 75 κατ' ἐχθρῶν λαβοῦσα ἄμυναν.

Ἰδρῶσι, πάνσοφε,
 εὐχῶν καὶ στάσεων
 τὴν ἀρχὴν καθαγνίζεις,
 πᾶσι θεὸν
 80 ἴλεων ποιούμενος,
 ὡς ἱερεὺς, οὐ βασιλεύς,
 τοῦ λαοῦ σου προϊστάμενος.

Σοφίαν, ἄχραντε,
 τὴν ἐνυπόστατον
 85 τοῦ πατρὸς συλλαβοῦσα,
 τὸν σοφιστὴν
 τῆς κακίας ἤσχυνας,
 σάρκα δανείσασα θεῶ,
 δι' ἧς ἤττηται ὁ δόλιος.

[*Theotokion*]

You [lady] appeared, another heaven in the height of purity, and received in your womb the Creator of heaven and earth and all, and you alone render our nature heavenly.

Ode 4. “Christ my power.”

When by the light of your works, Nikephoros, *the One dwelling in light*²⁰ found you like a shining lamp,²¹ | He placed [you] on the lampstand²² of empire, drawing everything to the light through you. 405

The imperial City, inflamed at your arrival,²³ exalted you from all sides, seeing you as a saviour, and it was not deceived in taking defence against enemies through you.

By your exertions in prayers and standing vigils, all-wise one, you hallowed the empire, rendering God merciful to all, as a priest not an emperor,²⁴ standing as guardian of your people.

[*Theotokion*]

Undeified [lady], you conceived the enhypostatic²⁵ Wisdom of the Father, you shamed the deviser of evil, loaning flesh to God through which the wily one is defeated.

20 Tim. 6:16.

21 Cf. Mt. 5:16.

22 Cf. Mt. 5:15.

23 For a description of his arrival as emperor (August 16, 963) see Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 3.8 (Hase 1828, 47–48) and Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* 1.96 (Reiske 1829, 438–440).

24 On the author’s avoidance here of the “dangerous theme of the emperor-priest,” caesaropapism, see Dagron 2003, 152. On Phokas’s involvement in church affairs see Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 6.4 (Hase 1828, 98–99) and Riedel 2015.

25 For a brief introduction to the theory (“existing in a hypostasis”) with bibliography see *ODB* 2:1213 at “Leontios of Byzantium.”

90 ᾠδὴ ε΄. Τῷ θείῳ φέγγει σου.
 Τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀσκητὴν
 ὄχλος παρανόμων φονικῶς
 ἐνηδρευκῶς ἀποσφάττει σε·
 ὅμως τὸ σκευώρημα μαρτυρίου ὁδοῦ
 95 ἐγνώσθη, ἡ σφαγὴ δὲ
 δόξης σοὶ στέφανος.

Ἔκστασις εἶχε τὸν ληστρικὸν
 λόχον ἐπ' ἐδάφους, βασιλεῦ,
 ὥρα χειμῶνος καθεύδοντα
 100 σὲ ἔωρακότα, τὸν μυριάσι πολλαῖς
 καὶ νίκαις ὁμωνύμοις
 δορυφορούμενον.

Φῶς ἦν, οὐ νύξ, τότε περὶ σέ, |
 ὅτε οὐ στρωμνῇ, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ
 105 ἐκ τῶν εὐχῶν προσανέκεισο·
 ἔργα γὰρ ἡμέρας ἡγαπηκῶς, οὐ νυκτός,
 τὸ φῶς εἶχες ἀυγάζον
 σὲ τὸ ἀνέσπερον.

406

Ἵδίνων ἄνευ τίκτεις θεόν,
 110 μίαν μὲν ὑπόστασιν, ἀγνή,
 τὰς φύσεις δύο δὲ σφύζοντα·
 ὅθεν θεοτόκον τοὺς σε εἰδότας, σεμνή,
 θεοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσει
 σαφῶς ἐθέωσας.

115 ᾠδὴ ς΄. Τοῦ βίου τὴν θάλασσαν.
 Σταζόμενος αἵματι
 καὶ ἰδρώτι τοῦ καινοῦ
 ἀγῶνος τὸ κατὰκοπον,
 παριστῶν ὠφθης, μάκαρ, τῷ δικαστῇ·
 120 στεφθεῖς δὲ σὺν μάρτυσιν
 οὐρανίων ἐπάθλων
 κατηξίωσας.

Ode 5. “With Your divine light.”

A throng of lawless men lay murderously in wait and slaughtered you, the emperor and ascetic; nevertheless the plot was recognized as the path of martyrdom and the slaughter as your crown of glory.

The predatory band was ecstatic when they observed you sleeping on the ground, emperor, in wintertime, guarded by many myriad victories, your namesakes.²⁶ |

406

There was light not night then around you, when you lay nearby not on a bed, but on the ground after your prayers. For as you loved the works of day, not of night, you had the light without evening²⁷ gleaming on you.²⁸

[*Theotokion*]

You gave birth to God without pains, chaste [lady], preserving one hypostasis and two natures; and so you clearly deified those who know you as Theotokos through God’s incarnation, august [lady].

Ode 6. “The sea of life.”

Dripping with blood and the sweat of an unprecedented contest, you appeared offering your weariness²⁹ to the Judge, blessed one; crowned with the martyrs you were deemed worthy of heavenly rewards.

26 “Nikephoros” means “bringing victory.”

27 Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in hexaemeron* 2.8.67 (Giet 1968): Ἐπεὶ ἀνέσπερον καὶ ἀδιάδοχον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, ἦν καὶ ὀγδόην ὁ ψαλμωδὸς προσηγόρευσε, διὰ τὸ ἔξω κείσθαι τοῦ ἑβδοματικῆς τούτου χρόνου.

28 The murder of Phokas is described by Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.6–8 (Hase 1828, 85–91).

29 Cf. Job 16:8. (?).

Ἐστύγνασεν ἄψυχος
 φύσις ἅπασα, ἀήρ,
 125 γῆ, οὐρανός, τὸν ἥλιον
 ἐκλιπόντα ὡς εἶδόν σε, ἀρετῆς
 τὴν στήλην τὴν ἔμψυχον,
 τὸν φαιδρύναντα νίκαις
 πιστῶν πρόσωπα.

130 Τὰς τρώσεις δεχόμενος
 καὶ τὸν Στέφανον ζηλῶν
 τὸν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς μάρτυσι
 ὑπερηύχου προθύμως τῶν φονευτῶν,
 θανάτου γενόμενος
 135 ὑψηλότερος, μάκαρ
 ἀξιόγαστε.

Ἄπλασας τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς, νῦν βουληθεὶς
 σέ ὡς νυμφῶνα ὤκησε, |
 140 καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἡρμόσατο ἐκ τῶν σῶν
 αἱμάτων, ἀπείρανδρε,
 τῷ οἰκείῳ τιμῶν με
 ἀξιώματι.

ᾠδὴ ζ΄. Δροσοβόλον μὲν τὴν κάμινον.
 145 Νίκην ἦρω κατ' ἐχθρῶν, ἀναξ, ὡς ἄρματος
 αἵματος ἐπιβάς ἱεροῦ
 καὶ παραδραμῶν
 ἐξουσίας τε καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
 καὶ μέγαν ἀγῶνα ἠνυκῶς,
 150 οἷα σωτήρα εὐλογεῖς
 τὸν τῶν πατέρων θεόν.

Νεανικὴν ἔχων ὥσπερ καὶ συνακμάζουσιν
 πρὸς πόνους τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ σφριγῶν
 πόθῳ καὶ στοργῇ,
 155 ἐκπιεῖν ἐπηύχου ὁ Χριστὸς
 ποτήριον ἔπιε· διὸ
 καὶ ἐκπιῶν, βλέπεις αἰεὶ
 τὸν τῶν πατέρων θεόν.

All soulless nature, air, earth, heaven looked gloomy when they saw you leaving the sun, the ensouled pillar of virtue,³⁰ who brightened the faces of the faithful with his victories.

Receiving the wounds and emulating Stephen, the first among martyrs,³¹ you earnestly prayed for the murderers,³² becoming loftier than death, blessed, admirable man.

[*Theotokion*]

The One who formed humanity from the beginning now | came of His own will to dwell in you as a bridal chamber, and betrothed Himself to nature from your blood, you who never knew a man, honouring me with His own dignity. 407

Ode 7. "Furnace moist with dew."³³

You gained victory against enemies, ruler, mounting holy blood like a chariot, and surpassing *powers and principalities*,³⁴ completing a great contest, you praised the God of our fathers³⁵ as Saviour.

Having a soul fresh as it were and blossoming for toils and completely filled with desire and affection, you prayed to drink the cup which Christ drank,³⁶ and so indeed, having drunk it, you see always the God of our fathers.

30 There are six examples of the metaphor in the *TLG*, the earliest in Theodoretos, *Historia religiosa, Vita 5* section 6.10 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen 1977–1979).

31 Cf. Acts 7:59–60.

32 Cf. Acts 7:60.

33 Cf. Dan. 3:19–50 and *Kanon* for the Nativity, Ode 8.

34 Eph. 6:12.

35 Cf. Gen. 43:23, etc.

36 Cf. Mt. 20:22.

160 Ἴερεῖον ὡσπερ ἔρριψο καὶ σφάγιον,
 τόπων τῶν ἱερῶν προτυθεῖς
 ὡς ἐπὶ βωμῶν,
 νομικὰς θυσίας ὑπερβάς,
 ἐξίλασμα δούς αἷμα τὸ σὸν
 καὶ μαρτυρίου εἰληφῶς
 165 δόξαν ἀνθοῦσαν αἰεὶ.

Κρατῆρ ὠφθης ὡς σταγόνα τῆς θεότητος
 τὸ πλήρωμα χωρήσασα
 καὶ ζώηρρυτος
 ἐπεγνώσθης, ἄνανδρε, πηγῆ,
 170 ἐξ ἧς μετασχοῦσα εὐσεβῶς
 θεογνωσίας καὶ ζωῆς
 πᾶσα ἐπλήσθη ἡ γῆ.

ὦδὴ ἡ'. Ἐκ φλογὸς τοῖς ὀσίοις.
 Ἥ μετάγουσα λάθρα
 175 πληθὺς τὸ σῶμά σου
 τῷ καινῷ τῶν δρωμένων |
 τῶν ὕμνων εἶργετο·
 ἄγγελοι θεοῦ
 ἦδον δὲ τὰ ἐξόδια,
 180 νίκαις ἀθανάτοις
 σέ, μάκαρ, ἐξυμνοῦντες.

Φόβος εἶχε καὶ θάμβος,
 ἄναξ, τὸ θέατρον
 τὴν ταφὴν περιθέον
 185 καὶ σὲ ὡς σφάγιον
 κείμενον ὀρών,
 τὸν κρατοῦντα τῶν πόλεων,
 περιβεβλημένον
 πορφύραν ἐξ αἱμάτων.

You cast yourself down as a victim and an offering, sacrificed before holy places,³⁷ as if on altars, surpassing lawful sacrifices, giving your blood as a propitiatory offering and taking the ever-blossoming glory of martyrdom.

[*Theotokion*]

You appeared as a vessel containing like a drop the fullness of divinity, and were acknowledged as a spring flowing with life, you who never knew a man, you from whom all the earth, piously sharing, was filled with knowledge of the divine and with life.

Ode 8. “From flame for the holy.”³⁸

The multitude secretly conveying your body | was prevented from [singing] 408
hymns by the unprecedented nature of what was done.³⁹ Angels of God sang the *exodia*, hymning you for your immortal victories, blessed one.

Fear and astonishment prevailed, ruler, over those watching who were encircling the place of interment⁴⁰ and seeing you, the conqueror of cities, lying like a victim enveloped in purple from blood.

37 Petit 1904 suggests that this refers to the interior of the Palace, sanctified by the murder of Phokas. For the possibility that the murder occurred in a small chamber for meditation that Phokas had built onto the Pharos chapel, see Morris 1998, 108 with n. 87.

38 “From flame you made a source of dew for the holy youths.” Cf. Dan. 3:19–50.

39 Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.9 (Hase 1828, 91) describes funeral rites as carried out secretly at night on the orders of John Tzimiskes.

40 Phokas was interred in the *heroon* of the Church of the Holy Apostles; see Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.9 (Hase 1828, 91) and Grierson 1962, 29.

190 Οὐρανὸς μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα,
 γῆ δὲ τὸ σῶμά σου
 ἐμερίσαντο· τούτων
 ὅμως ἐκάτερον
 δείκνυται πηγῇ,
 195 ὁ μὲν ἐπισκιάσεων,
 ἢ δὲ τῶν θαυμάτων,
 θεόφρον Νικηφόρε.

Ἴρυπωθεῖσαν τὴν φύσιν
 ἐκπλῦναι, πάντα γνε,
 200 βουληθεὶς ὁ δεσπότης,
 ἐκ σοῦ σεσάρκωται,
 καὶ τῷ καθαρῷ
 τῆς θεότητος, ὅλον με
 ὄλω ἐκκαθάρας,
 205 ἐλάμπρυνε θεώσας.

ὦδὴ θ'. Θεὸν ἀνθρώποις.
 Ὁ χοῦς σε πᾶσιν ἀνθρωπον δείκνυσιν,
 ἢ ἀρετὴ θεοῦ ἄγγελον δέ, παμμακάριστε·
 φέρει γὰρ ὡς ἀνθρωπον μὲν τάφος μικρός,
 210 χώρος δὲ τῶν μαρτύρων
 οἶα καὶ ἄγγελον
 ἀγώνων στεφάνῳ καὶ στολῇ
 περιλαμπόμενον.

Ναὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐχρημάτισας, |
 215 ἐμφανειῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ χαρισμάτων ἀνάπλευς,
 πρὸς ναὸν οὐράνιον δὲ χαίρων, σοφέ,
 αἶμα συναναφέρων
 μετακεχώρηκας
 ὡσπερ ἱερεῖον τὸ σαυτοῦ,
 220 ᾧ δεδικαίωσαι.

Heaven was assigned your spirit, earth your body, nevertheless each of these is revealed as a spring, the [spirit] of overshadowings,⁴¹ the [body] of miracles, God-bearing Nikephoros.

[*Theotokion*]

The Master in His desire to cleanse defiled nature, all-chaste one, became flesh from you, and by the purity of divinity wholly and completely purified me, He deified and illuminated me.

Ode 9. “God Men.”⁴²

The dust reveals you to all as a man, but your virtue as an angel of God, most-of-all blessed one, for as a man a small tomb holds you, but the place of martyrs [holds you] even as an angel, illuminated with the crown and mantle of your contests.

You were called a temple of the spirit,⁴³ filled with its manifestations and graces, rejoicing you migrated to the heavenly temple. Wise one, bringing your own blood as the offering by which you were deemed righteous. 409

41 i.e. protective overshadowing, cf. Mt. 17:5, Mk. 9:7, Lk. 1:35, Acts 5:15.

42 “Men cannot see God.”

43 Cf. 1 Cor. 6:19.

Κρατεῖ θανάτου καὶ μετὰ θάνατον
 φύσις θνητὴ ἰσχυρὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς παρίστησι
 τῶν σεπτῶν ὀστέων σου ἢ θεία σορός·
 βλύζει γὰρ πᾶσι μύρα,
 225 παύει νοσήματα,
 ἔνδοξε, ὡς ζῶντα ἀληθῶς
 σὲ θησαυρίζουσα.

Υἱὸν συνείληφας θεὸν ἄνθρωπον
 ὡς ἰλασμόν· διὸ καὶ ἰλαστήριον ἔσχηκας
 230 τὴν γαστέρα, πάναγνε, ἐν ἧ' πᾶς τῶν πιστῶν,
 στάμνε τοῦ θείου μάννα,
 ἐξιλασκόμενος,
 μετέχει τοῦ μάννα ἀψευδῶς
 τοῦ τῆς ἀφέσεως.

Ἔτερος κανὼν φέρων ἀκροστιχίδα· Χρέους ἀμοιβὴν τόνδε σοι
 πλέκω κρότον.

ὦδὴ ἀ'. ἦχος πλ. δ'. Ἀρματηλάτην Φαραά.
 Χειρὶ με σὴ παντοδυνάμω, δέσποτα,
 5 ἴθυνον πρὸς ἀρετὴν,
 τοῦ δὲ νοὸς κόρας
 φώτισον καὶ γνῶσίν μοι
 παράσχου τῷ οἰκέτῃ σου,
 ἐπαξίως ὑμνήσαι
 10 θεράποντά σου τὸν μέγιστον,
 τὸν ἐν βασιλευσιν αἰοίδιμον.

Ῥήμασι θείοις τοῦ σωτῆρος, πάνσοφε,
 ἀκολουθῶν εὐπειθῶς,
 τὸν ζωτικὸν νόμον
 15 τούτου διετήρησας,
 πενήτων προμηθούμενος |
 καὶ νηστείας σχολάζων
 καὶ προσευχαίς, δι' ὧν γέγονας
 σκευὸς ἱερὸν τῷ δεσπότη σου.

Mortal nature conquers death even after death by the power of Christ, as the divine coffin of your august bones demonstrates. For holy oil gushes up for all, ends diseases, esteemed one, preserving you as truly living.

[*Theotokion*]

You conceived a son, God, man, as a source of atonement; and so you also had your womb as a mercy seat,⁴⁴ all-chaste [lady], where all of the faithful, O urn of divine manna,⁴⁵ as they make atonement partake of the manna, truly the manna of remission [of sins].

Another kanon bearing an acrostic: “As repayment of debt I weave this applause.”

ΧΡΕΟΥΣ ΑΜΟΙΒΗΝ ΤΟΝΔΕ ΣΟΙ ΠΛΕΚΩ ΚΡΟΤΟΝ

Ode 1. Plagal mode 4. “The Charioteer of Pharaoh.”⁴⁶

By your all-powerful hand, Master, guide me to virtue, enlighten the eyes of my mind and furnish knowledge to me, Your servant, so as to hymn in worthy manner Your greatest servant revered among emperors.

Following obediently the divine words of the Saviour, all-wise one, you observed His living law, | taking care for the poor, devoting yourself to fasting 410 and prayers, through which you became a holy vessel for your Master.

44 Cf. Heb. 9:5.

45 Cf. Heb. 9:4: “The golden urn (στάμνος) holding the manna.”

46 “The charioteer of Pharaoh He plunged into the sea.” Cf. Ex. 14.

20 Ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῶν ἐντολῶν σου ἔδραμεν
 ὁ σὸς οἰκέτης, Χριστέ,
 διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον,
 βασιλεὺς ὁ κράτιστος,
 τῆς νίκης ὁ φερώνυμος·
 25 καὶ τὸν βίον λαμπρύνας
 ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, καταγώγιον
 πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ γεγένηται.

Ἵλικωτάτη προθυμία, πάναγνε,
 τοῦ σοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ θεοῦ
 30 τὰς σωστικὰς τρίβους
 θεοφρόνως ἤνυσεν
 ὁ γνήσιος θεράπων σου,
 δυσμενεῖς κατὰ κράτος
 τοὺς ἀοράτους τροπούμενος
 35 καὶ τοὺς ὄρατοὺς συμμαχία σου.

ὦδὴ γ'. Ὁ στερεώσας κατ' ἀρχάς.
 Ὑπερνηξάμενος, σοφέ,
 τὸ πέλαγος τὸ τοῦ βίου
 ἀχειμάστως, εἰς πανεύδιον ὄρμον
 40 τὰ ἀγώγιμα καλῶς
 ἐλλιμενίσας, ἤνεγκας
 τῆς ἐμπορίας ὄλβον
 ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸν ἀσύλητον,

Σὺν ταῖς μαρτύρων εὐρηκῶς
 45 χορεΐαις τὴν κατοικίαν,
 ὡς ἐπόθεις περιῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ,
 θεοφόρε, καὶ θεὸς
 πληρώσας σου τὸ βούλημα·
 χερσὶ γὰρ μαιφόνων
 50 τελειωθήναι σε εἶασεν.

Your servant, Christ, *ran in the way of Thy commandments*⁴⁷ on account of love for You, the most powerful emperor, the one named for victory, who having enlightened his life with virtues became a resting place of the divine Spirit.

[*Theotokion*]

With absolute eagerness, all-chaste [lady], your true servant completed in a Godly-minded manner the salvific paths of your Son and God, powerfully setting up trophies over the enemy, unseen and seen, with you as his ally.

Ode 3. “Who established at the beginning.”⁴⁸

After you swam over the sea of life, wise one, not vexed by storms, and rightly brought your wares to the all-calm harbour, you acquired the inviolate happiness of commerce in the heavens.⁴⁹

You found the abode with the choruses of martyrs as you desired in the course of your life, God-bearing man, and God fulfilled your wish; for He allowed you to end your life at the hands of murderers.

47 Ps. 118 (119):32.

48 “Who established the heavens of old at the beginning.”

49 Cf. John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Romanos* (PG 60 594.52) και γὰρ και την ἐμπορίαν τῶν οὐρανῶν εὐκολωτέραν σοι ποιεῖ ἡ πενία.

Ἄπο νεότητος τὸν σὸν
 θεομακάριστον βίον
 ἀποσμήξας προσευχαῖς καὶ μελέταις |
 ἀγρυπνίαις τε πολλαῖς
 55 καὶ ὀλονύκτοις στάσεσι,
 χάριν θεόθεν εὖρες
 τῶν ἰαμάτων ἀνέκλειπτον.

411

Μυσταγωγεῖται διὰ σοῦ
 τὰ κρείττω καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον,
 60 θεομήτορ, ὁ πιστός σου θεράπων·
 διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ρευστῶν
 αὐτίκα κατεφρόνησε,
 γερῶν τῶν οὐρανίων
 κατατρυφήσαι γλιχόμενος.

ὦδῃ δ'· Σὺ μου Χριστὲ κύριος
 Ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 πόθος σε προσανεπτέρωσε
 διὰ βίου
 πρὸς τὰ ὑπερκόσμια
 70 ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ δι' ἀρετῶν
 πρὸς ὑψηλοτάτην
 ἀνενεχθῆναι ἀκώρειαν,
 θεόφρον Νικηφόρε,
 καθορᾶν τοῦ σωτήρος
 75 τὸ ἀμήχανον κάλλος καὶ ἄρητον.

Ἴσχυν τὴν σὴν
 ἔχων ὁ κράτιστος, κύριε,
 βασιλεύς σου,
 ἔθνη τὰ ἀλλόφυλα
 80 Ἄγαρηνῶν ἄρδην καθελών,
 πόλεις ὑποφόρους
 τελεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέταξε·
 τῇ σῇ γὰρ συνεργίᾳ
 θεοφρόνως ἐβόα·
 85 Τῇ δυνάμει σου δόξα, φιλόανθρωπε.

From youth having cleansed your most God-blest life | with prayers and exercises and many nights without sleep and all-night standing vigils,⁵⁰ you found from God the uninterrupted gift of healing.⁵¹ 411

[*Theotokion*]

Your faithful servant, mother of God, was initiated through you into what is better and above reason; therefore he immediately despised the transitory, striving to delight in the gifts of heaven.

Ode 4. “You my Christ Lord.”

The love of Christ gave you wings throughout life to run up to the celestial and through virtues to be carried up to the loftiest pinnacle, God-bearing Nikephoros, to behold the extraordinary and inexpressible beauty of the Saviour.

Lord [God], endowed with Your might, Your most powerful emperor utterly conquered the foreign tribes of the Hagarenes and subjected their cities to the Romans to pay tribute; for with Your assistance he cried out in Godly-minded manner, “Glory to Your power, Lover of humanity.”

50 Cf. Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 5.8 (Hase 1828, 89).

51 Cf. 1 Cor. 12:9.

Βάθος τῶν σῶν,
 σῶτερ, κριμάτων καὶ ἄβυσσον
 τῆς προνοίας
 τίς ἐξερευνήσειεν,
 90 ὅπως τὸν σὸν λάτριν ἐν χερσὶν
 εἶασας τεθνᾶναι
 μαιφονούντων, ἐν σκότῳ τε |
 πιστῶς δεδουλευκότα
 καὶ θερμῶς σοὶ βοῶντα·
 95 Τῇ δυνάμει σου δόξα, φιλόανθρωπε;

412

Ἡ κραταιὰ
 τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἀντίληψις,
 βασιλέων
 πάντων τὸ κραταίωμα
 100 σὺ ἀληθῶς, ἄχραντε σεμνή,
 ὄντως ἀνεδείχθης·
 διὸ καὶ νῦν ὁ θεράπων σου
 πρὸς ὕψος ἀνηνέχθη
 ἀρετῆς, συνεργόν σε
 105 κεκτημένος καὶ στήριγμα ἄσειστον.

ὦδὴ ε΄. Ἵνα τί με ἀπώσω.

Νυσταγμὸν ἀμελείας,
 πάνσοφε, βλεφάρων καὶ ὕπνον ἀπήλασας
 ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου,
 110 ἐγρηγόρσεσι θείαις βαλλόμενος·
 ὄθεν πρὸς ἐσπέραν
 τῆς ἐκδημίας ἀνεφάνης
 ἱερώτατον θῦμα τῷ κτίστῃ σου.

Τὸν τὰ πάντα ὀρώντα,
 115 ἔνδοξε, μιμούμενος, πρᾶος γεγένησαι
 φοιτητῆς ὡς τούτου,
 συμπαθῆς, ἐλεήμων καὶ μέτριος·
 ὄθεν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον
 τοῖς ἐνδεέσι δαψιλεύων
 120 τὸν ἀκήρατον ὄλβον κεκλήρωσαι.

Who would question the depth of your judgements, Saviour, and the abyss of Your Providence, that you permitted Your servant to die at the hands | of murderers, a man who served You in darkness faithfully and fervently cried out to You, “Glory to Your power, Lover of humanity.” 412

[*Theotokion*]

Immaculate and august [lady], verily in truth you have been revealed as the powerful aid of the pious, the strength of all emperors; wherefore even now your servant has been taken up to the height of virtue, as he possessed you as his co-worker and unshaken support.

Ode 5. “Why have you cast me off.”⁵²

You drove from your eyelids the slumber of indifference, all-wise one, and from your eyes sleep,⁵³ smitten with divine watchfulness, and so you appeared on the evening of your passing a most holy sacrificial offering to your Creator.

Imitating, esteemed one, the One Who sees all, you became gentle, as His disciple, compassionate, merciful, and moderate; and so bestowing wealth lavishly on the poor you inherited pure happiness.

52 Cf. Ps. 42 (43):2, etc.

53 Cf. Ps. 131 (132):4.

Ὁ πιστός σου οἰκέτης,
 σῶτερ, σοῦ τοῖς λόγοις ἐπόμενος ἄριστα,
 ἐπιτιθεμένους
 οὐκ ἐρίζων, οὐκ ἀνταμυνόμενος,
 125 ἀλλὰ θέλων μάλλον
 αὐτὸς τυθῆναι ἤπερ θῦσαι,
 μαρτυρικῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν σφαγιάζεται.

Νομοδότην τεκοῦσα |
 λόγον, τῆς μεγάλης βουλήs τε τὸν ἄγγελον,
 130 τοῦ πατρὸς παρθένε,
 πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησίαν ὡς ἔχουσα
 μητρικὴν, ἐγένου
 τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ σῷ οἰκέτῃ
 πρέσβυς τε καὶ μεσίτης σωτήριος.

135 ὡδὴ ς'. Ἰλάσθητί μοι, σωτήρ.
 Δαιμόνων τοὺς πειρασμοὺς
 καὶ ἡδονῶν ὑπεκκαύματα
 τῆς ἐγκρατείας κημῶ
 τελείως ἐξέκλινας
 140 καὶ σῶμα ἐνέκρωσας,
 τῶν παθῶν εὐνάσας
 τὰ οἰδήματα, θεόπνευστε.

Ἐγένου χωρητικὸν
 δοχεῖον ὄντως τοῦ πνεύματος,
 145 δι' ἐμμελείας σαυτὸν
 καθάρας, πανόλβιε,
 καὶ χάριν ἀπειλήφας
 παρ' αὐτοῦ πλουσίως
 θεραπεύειν τὰ νοσήματα.

150 Σοφία πνευματικῆ
 ῥυθμίσας ὅλον τὸν βίον σου,
 τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς
 τῷ νῷ καθυπέταξας·
 πρὸς ὕψος μετέωρον
 155 ὄθεν ἀνηνέχθης,
 ἀπαθεία σεμνυνόμενος.

Your faithful servant, Saviour, following Your words most excellently, not contending with his attackers, nor defending himself, but willing rather to be sacrificed himself than to sacrifice, was slaughtered by them as a martyr.

[*Theotokion*]

Having given birth to the Word, the Lawgiver and *Messenger of the Wonderful Counsellor*,⁵⁴ virgin of the Father, and thus having a mother's freedom of speech with Him, become for the emperor and your servant an ambassador and salvific intercessor. 413

Ode 6. "Be merciful to me, Saviour."⁵⁵

The temptations of the demons and lust for pleasures you turned away completely with the muzzle of self-control, and mortified your body after lulling to sleep the swellings of the passions, O you who were inspired by God.

You became truly a capacious receptacle of the spirit, through diligence purifying yourself, all-blest one, and you received from it the grace to cure diseases abundantly.

With spiritual wisdom you arranged your entire life, you subjected *the thought of the flesh*⁵⁶ to the mind; and so you were carried high up above, exalted by freedom from the passions.

54 Is. 9.6.

55 Cf. Lk 18.13.4.

56 Rom. 8:6–7.

- Ὁ σὸς θεράπων, ἀγνή,
 διάδημα τὸ βασιλειον
 ἐδέξατο διὰ σοῦ·
 160 καὶ νῦν στέφος ἄφθαρτον
 μαρτυρίου αἵματι
 πρὸς Χριστοῦ ἀξίως
 τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἀνεδήσατο.
- ὡδὴ ζ'. Θεοῦ συγκατάβασιν. |
 165 Ἴδεῖν ἐφιέμενος
 θεοῦ τὴν δόξαν,
 εὐσεβοφρόνως, σοφέ,
 τὰς αὐτοῦ διατάξεις
 φυλάττων, ὡφθης
 170 παντοδαπαῖς ἀρεταῖς
 κεκοσμημένος·
 διὸ καὶ ἐκραύγαζες·
 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς
 ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.
- 175 Πυρούμενος, πάνσοφε,
 τῷ θείῳ φίλτρῳ
 τῷ τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ,
 τοὺς θεσμοὺς αὐτοῦ πάντας
 προθύμῳ γνώμῃ
 180 τετήρηκας εὐσεβῶς·
 διὸ καὶ ψάλλεις
 Χριστῷ παριστάμενος·
 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς
 ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.
- 185 Λαοῦ τοῦ θεόφρονος
 ποιμὴν ἐγένου,
 ἐγχειρισθεὶς πρὸς Χριστοῦ
 βασιλείας τὰ σκήπτρα,
 καὶ ἐκτακείσας
 190 ψυχὰς πενήτων σαφῶς
 πείνη καὶ δίψῃ
 λιπαίνων ἐκραύγαζες·
 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς
 ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

[*Theotokion*]

Your servant, chaste [lady], received the imperial diadem through you; and now the incorruptible crown of martyrdom by his blood has been worthily secured upon him by Christ your Son. |

414

Ode 7. “The condescension of God.”⁵⁷

Desiring to see the glory of God, wise one, correctly guarding His commandments, you appeared adorned with every kind of virtue, wherefore you also were crying out, “Blessed be God, the God of our fathers.”

On fire, all-wise one, with the divine charm of the Saviour Christ, you piously preserved all His laws with eager intent; wherefore standing beside Christ you sing, “Blessed be God, the God of our fathers.”

You became shepherd of the Godly-minded people, entrusted by Christ with the sceptre of empire, and anointing the souls of the poor manifestly exhausted by poverty and thirst you were crying out, “Blessed be God, the God of our fathers.”

57 “The condescension of God brought fear to the fire of Babylon in days of old.”

- 195 Εὐρών σε βοήθειαν
 ἐν βίῳ ὄντως
 ὁ θαυμαστός βασιλεύς,
 τῇ πρὸς σοῦ συμμαχίᾳ
 δαιμόνων στίφη
- 200 κατετροπώσατο νῦν
 καὶ ἀλλοφύλων
 τὰς φάλαγγας ὤλεσε,
 θεοκυῆτορ, βοῶν· |
 (Εὐλογημένη ἀγνή).
- 205 ὦδῃ ἡ· Ἑπταπλασίως κάμινον
 Κατὰ δαιμόνων ἔστησας
 προφανῶς σου τὸ τρόπαιον
 καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρων
 δυσμενῶν, πανάριστε·
- 210 θεόθεν γὰρ εἴληφας
 πρὸς τοῦ σωτήρος χάριν σαφῶς
 καὶ θαυματουργεῖν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὰς νόσους
 καὶ πνεύματα διώκειν
 τῶν πιστῶς ἐκβοώντων·
- 215 Λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε
 εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.
- Ἵς θαυμαστός εἶ, κύριε,
 καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἔργα σου
 τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις
- 220 εἰργασμένα πάντοτε·
 ξηρὰ γὰρ νῦν κείμενα
 ἐπὶ σοροῦ τὰ λείψανα
 μύρα ἰαμάτων κρουνηδὸν ἐκβλυστάνει,
 καθαίροντα τὰ πάθη
- 225 τῶν θερμῶς μελωδούντων·
 Λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε
 εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

[*Theotokion*]

The wondrous emperor, finding you truly an aid in life, in alliance with you has now put to flight the dense arrays of demons and destroyed the phalanxes of foreigners, | you who conceived God, crying out, “[Blessed, chaste lady].” 415

Ode 8. “Furnace seven times.”⁵⁸

You conspicuously set up your trophy against demons and against barbarian enemies, the best man of all; for through God you clearly received from the Saviour grace both to work miracles and to cure diseases and to pursue the spirits of those crying out in faith, “People, exalt exceedingly unto all the ages.”

So awesome are You, Lord,⁵⁹ and Your deeds are great,⁶⁰ always accomplished among the saints.⁶¹ For the remains, lying now dry on a bier, gush the holy oil of cures like a spring, purifying the passions of those fervently chanting, “People, exalt exceedingly unto all the ages.”

58 “Furnace heated seven times hotter than it was wont to be heated.” Cf. Dan. 3:19.3.

59 Cf. Ps. 67 (68):3.

60 Cf. Ps. 110 (111):2, Rev. 15:3.

61 Eph. 1:18, or if Ps. 67 (68):35, “in Your sanctuary”.

Κατὰ παθῶν, θεόληπτε,
 βασιλεύσας, ἐκράτησας
 230 πάσης ὀλεθρίου
 τῶν παθῶν ὀρέξεως
 καὶ σώμα ἐνέκρωσας,
 τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἐζώωσας
 πρᾶξεσιν ἀρίσταις· ὅθεν καὶ σὺν ἀγγέλοις
 235 βοᾷς ἀδιαλείπτως·
 Ἱερεῖς, εὐλογεῖτε,
 λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε
 εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ἐνάβδος ἰσχύος, πάναγνε, |
 240 ὁ υἱός σου γεγένηται
 δούλῳ τῷ πιστῷ σου,
 βασιλεὶ θεόφρονι·
 ἐντεῦθεν ἀτίθασα
 καὶ ἀνομούντων ἔθνη πολλὰ
 245 καὶ δαιμονικὰς παρεμβολὰς νῦν καθεῖλε,
 κραυγάζων ἀνενδότως·
 Ἱερεῖς, εὐλογεῖτε,
 λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε
 εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

250 ὦδὴ θ'. Ἐξέστη ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ οὐρανός.
 Ὅδοὺς νῦν τὰς φερούσας πρὸς οὐρανὸν
 διόδεύσας, θεόφρον, κατείληφας
 ἔνθα χοροὶ
 πάντων ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν
 255 ἱεραρχῶν ὁσίων τε,
 ἔνθα τῶν ἀγγέλων αἱ στρατιαὶ
 καὶ πάντων τῶν μαρτύρων,
 μεθ' ὧν συναγελάζων
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αἰεὶ μνημόνευε.

Having ruled against the passions, a man possessed by God, you conquered all deadly yearning for the passions, you mortified your body, you enlivened your soul by the best deeds; and so even with the angels you cry out incessantly, "Priests, give your blessing, people, exalt exceedingly, unto all the ages."

[*Theotokion*]

Your Son, all-chaste [lady], became a *ruler's sceptre*⁶² for your faithful servant 416
the Godly-minded emperor; hence many untamed tribes of lawless men and demonic battle arrays did he now conquer, crying unyieldingly, "Priests, give your blessing, people, exalt exceedingly, unto all the ages."

Ode 9. "The heaven is amazed at this."⁶³

Having now travelled the roads leading to heaven, Godly-minded man, you arrived where the choruses of all the apostles and prophets and holy hierarchs are, where the armies of the angels and of all the martyrs are; joining together with them may you always remember us.

62 Cf. Ezek. 19:11, etc.

63 Cf. Jer. 2:12.

260 Τὸ τέμενος, ἐν ᾧ σου ἡ ἱερά,
 θεοφόρε, σορὸς νῦν κατάκειται,
 ποταμηδὸν
 ῥέουσι χαρίτων οἱ ὀχετοί·
 οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ συντρέχοντες
 265 κύκλῳ σου τῆς λάρνακος εὐσεβῶς
 ἀρύονται ἀφθόνως
 τὰ μύρα τῶν θαυμάτων,
 ἀκαταπαύστως σε γεραίροντες.

Ἄ μέγας πολιοῦχος καὶ βασιλεὺς
 270 ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτοῦ συνεκάλεσεν
 πανευλαβῶς
 ἄσμασιν ἐνθέοις καὶ ἱεροῖς
 συνεορτάσαι σήμερον
 καὶ πανηγυρίσαι χαρμονικῶς·
 275 προσέλθωμεν ἐν πίστει
 γεραίροντες τὴν τούτου
 κοίμησιν πάντες τὴν σεβάσμιον.

Νυγεῖς τῷ θεῷ πόθῳ τοῦ σοῦ υἱοῦ |
 βασιλεὺς ὁ θεόφρων, πανάχραντε,
 280 προφητικῶς
 πλοῦτον ἐθησάυρισε τὸν φθαρτὸν
 ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αἰῖδιον
 ὄλβον ἀντικτῶμενος πρὸς Χριστοῦ,
 καὶ θρόνῳ νῦν τῷ τούτου,
 285 χοροῖς τῶν ἀσωμάτων
 μετὰ ἀγίων νῦν παρίσταται.

[In] the precinct in which your holy coffin, God-bearing man, now rests, there like a river the conduits of graces flow, and the faithful run together there and around your bier they piously draw in abundance the holy oil of your miracles, unceasingly honouring you.

The great city-protector and emperor has most reverently called us together in commemoration of him with inspired and holy hymns to join in the festival today and joyfully to attend the holy day; let us come in faith, all honouring his revered passing.

[*Theotokion*]

Pierced by divine longing for your Son, undefiled [lady], the Godly-minded emperor prophetically stored perishable wealth in the heavens,⁶⁴ receiving in return from Christ eternal happiness, and now beside His throne he stands in choruses with incorporeal saints. 417

64 Cf. Mt. 6:20.

Κάθισμα.

ἦχος πλ. δ'. Πρὸς (τὸ) Τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ λόγου.

- Ἐξ αἱμάτων πορφύραν
μαρτυρικῶν
5 περιθέμενος, ἄναξ,
καὶ ἱερῶν
ἐκ πόνων διάδημα
προπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' ἀγγέλων,
βασιλικῶς ἀνήλθες
10 θεοῦ εἰς βασιλεία·
τὴν στενήν ὁδεύσας γὰρ
εἰς πλάτος κατέλυσας.
ὄθεν καὶ τὴν κόνιν
ἀσπαζόμεθα πίστει
15 τὴν σὴν καὶ σεβόμεθα
τὴν τοῦ εἴδους ἐμφέρειαν,
Νικηφόρε, βοῶντές σοι·
Πρέσβευε Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ
τῶν πταισμάτων ἄφεςιν δωρήσασθαι
20 (τοῖς ἐορτάζουσι πόθῳ
τὴν ἀγίαν μνήμην σου).

Ἄτερα στιχηρά.

ἦχος δ'. Πρὸς (τὸ) Ὡς γενναῖον ἐν μάρτυσι.

- Τῷ πυρὶ τῶν ἀγώνων σου
25 ἀνακαύσας τὸν ἔρωτα,
ὥσπερ θῦμα ἔνομον
ὠλοκάρπωσας
ψυχῆς τὸ πρόθυμον πρότερον· |
στολήν ἐν ὑστέρω δὲ
30 φοινηχθεὶς μαρτυρικῷ,
Νικηφόρε, τῷ αἵματι,
προσενήνεξαι
ὡς διπλὴ τις θυσία
τῷ τυθέντι
35 δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας
τύποις θυσίας τιμήσαντι.

Kathisma

Plagal mode 4. To [the] “The Wisdom of the Word.”⁶⁵

Putting on purple from martyr’s blood, ruler, and a diadem from your holy toils, you went up, escorted by angels as an emperor to God’s kingdom; for after traveling the narrow [gate]⁶⁶ you passed into the breadth [of heaven]. And so we embrace your dust in faith and we revere the likeness of your appearance, Nikephoros, crying to you, “Urge Christ God to grant us remission of sins, [those who celebrate earnestly your holy commemoration].”

Other stichera

Mode 4. To [the] “As valiant among martyrs.”

By the fire of your contests having kindled love, you offered as a whole and lawful sacrifice | first the eagerness of your soul; but with your garment later made red with a martyr’s blood, Nikephoros, you offered yourself as a double sacrifice to the One Who was sacrificed for us and Who has honoured such sacrifices with examples.

418

65 Petit 1904 notes that the correct form should be “The Wisdom and Word.” See above, n. 10.

66 Cf. Mt. 7:13–14.

- Καὶ τῷ ξένῳ τοῦ πράγματος
 καὶ μαχαίραις παιόμενος,
 ἀκλινὲς πρὸς ἅπαντα
 40 τὸ παράστημα
 τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶχες, πάνσοφε,
 θανάτου φαινόμενος
 κρείττων· ὅθεν οὐδαμῶς
 ῥῆμα φόβου προήνεγκας,
 45 ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτοιμος
 ἀταράχως ἐχώρεις
 πρὸς θανάτους,
 ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ εὐλογίαις
 τοὺς φονευτὰς ἀμειβόμενος.
- 50 Αἱ ῥοαὶ τῶν αἱμάτων σου
 τῇ πηγῇ τῶν δακρύων σου
 συγκραθεῖσαι βάπτισμα
 ἀπειργάσαντο
 διπλοῦν, ὃ σὺ βαπτισάμενος,
 55 στολὴν δικαιοσύνης
 ἐκ δακρύων καὶ φαιδρὸν
 μαρτυρίου ἐξ αἵματος
 στέφος, ἔνδοξε,
 περιθέμενος ἔβης
 60 στεφηφόρος,
 τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ μαρτύρων
 χοροῖς καὶ δήμοις κροτούμενος.
- Στρατιώτην τὰ ὄπλα σε,
 στρατηγὸν ἢ παράταξις,
 65 βασιλέα κράτιστον
 τὸ διάδημα,
 ἀλλ' ἀσκητὴν οἱ ἀγῶνές σε, |
 τὰ ἄθλα δὲ μάρτυρα
 καταγγέλλουσι τρανώς,
 70 Νικηφόρε, τοῖς πέρασιν·
 ὅθεν ἠθροισται
 καὶ τιμῶσά σε πόλις,
 εὐφημοῦσα
 τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν νίκην
 75 καὶ τὸ μακάριον τέλος σου.

Struck by the strangeness of the event and by swords, you kept the courage of your soul unswerving to everything, all-wise one, appearing greater than death; and so you never uttered a word of fear, but as one prepared you calmly went to death, answering the killers with prayers and praises.

The streams of your blood, joined with the spring of your tears, brought to perfection a double baptism; you were baptized putting on the robe of justice from your tears and the shining crown from a martyr's blood, glorious one, and you proceeded wreathed, applauded by choruses of angels and martyrs and by the people.

To the ends [of the earth], Nikephoros, your arms clearly declare you a soldier, the battle formation a *strategos*, the diadem the mightiest emperor, | but 419
your contests declare you an ascetic, your struggles a martyr; and so the City has gathered honouring and praising your contests, and victory, and your blessed end.

Κοντάκιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Νικηφόρον.

ἦχος β΄. Πρὸς (τὸ) Τὰ ἄνω ζητῶν.

Ταῖς νίκαις στεφθεῖς

τῆς νίκης ὡς ἐπώνυμος,

5 βαρβάρων ὄφρυν

καὶ θράσος ἐταπεινώσας,

τροπαιοῦχος ἄριστος

κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἐχρημάτισας, θεσπέσιε.

διὰ τοῦτό σε πίστει αἰτούμεθα·

10 Μὴ παύσῃ πρεσβεύων

ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν.

Ὁ οἶκος.

Τίς ἐξισχύσει τὰς ἀριστείας

ἐξειπεῖν τῶν σῶν πόνων,

15 ἃς ἐν βίῳ παρῶν

ἐτέλεσας, μακάριε,

πρὸς τοὺς ἀθέους Ἰσραηλῖτας,

κατὰ κράτος τὰ τούτων συγκόπτων στίφη

καὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐξαιρούμενος πάντας

20 τῆς τούτων πικρᾶς

δεινῆς τε αἰχμαλωσίας,

ὑποσπόνδους αὐτοὺς ἐργαζόμενος

τοῖς πόθῳ Χριστὸν δοξάζουσιν

καὶ τὴν σὴν ἐκτελοῦσι πανήγυριν.

25 Ἐξαποστειλάριον. |

420

Τῶν μαθητῶν.

Εὐφράνθητι καὶ χόρευσον, πάσα κτίσις,

ὅτι ἐν βασιλεῦσι κατὰ βαρβάρων

νικητῆς ἐδείχθη κατὰ δαιμόνων·

30 θαύμασι γὰρ ἐκόσμησεν

ὁ Νικηφόρος τὴν θήκην

τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ λειψάνου.

Kontakion to Saint Nikephoros

Mode 2. To [the] “Seeking the sublime.”

Crowned by the victories as one named for victory, you humbled the pride and boldness of barbarians, you were called the best trophy winner against the enemy, God-inspired man. Therefore we beg you in faith, do not cease interceding for us all.

The Oikos

Who will be able to declare the prowess of your toils, which you accomplished while alive,⁶⁷ blessed man, against the godless Ishmaelites, powerfully breaking up their compact formations and removing all the faithful from their bitter and dire captivity, rendering them subservient to those eagerly extolling Christ and keeping your holy day. |

420

Exapostilarion

“The disciples.”⁶⁸

Rejoice and dance, all creation, because among emperors a victor has been revealed against barbarians, against demons, for Nikephoros has adorned the tomb of his divine remains with miracles.

67 Accepting Petit's (1904) conjecture *περιών* for *παρών*.

68 “With your disciples watching You, O Christ, You were taken to be enthroned with the Father.”

Glossary

Titles and Dignities Appearing in the Texts

- antigraphheus* a subordinate of the quaestor
- asekretis* secretary or notary of the imperial chancery
- augousta* the empress
- domestikos* of the *scholai* commander of the imperial field armies
- droungarios* of the fleet commander of the fleet stationed at the capitol
- droungarios* of the Watch commander of the troops responsible for Palace security
- eparch prefect of Constantinople
- exkoubitoi* one of four regiments defending the capital
- grand *hetaireiarches* a semi-military official responsible for Palace security
- hegemon*: superior of a monastery
- katepano* senior commander of a military unit
- koitonites* a staff member of the imperial bedchamber
- komes* of the stable director of the imperial stable
- logothete head of an administrative secretariat
- logothete of the *genikon* head of the state treasury
- magistros* a high-ranking dignity
- monostrategos* a *strategos* commanding other *strategoï*
- mystikos* an imperial private secretary or a judicial official
- paradynasteuon* an unofficial term, an imperial favourite, a close colleague
- parakoimomenos* the highest court position, responsible for the security of the imperial bedchamber
- patrikios* a high-ranking dignity
- praipositos* title for eunuchs involved in Palace ceremony
- primikerios* member of any group of functionaries
- protokankellarios* secretarial official in various central departments
- protonotarios* main fiscal administrator of a theme
- protospatharios* a dignity, the first granting access to the senate
- protovestiarios* head of the imperial wardrobe
- quaestor* high-ranking official with financial responsibilities
- rhaiktor* a high-ranking courtier, apparently with Palace administrative duties
- sakellarios* comptroller of finances
- spatharokandidatos* a high-ranking dignity
- strategos* general, governor of a military district
- strategetes* see *strategos*
- stratiarches* a general category of high-ranking officials
- symponos* senior assistant of the eparch

Technical Terms

- akolouthia* lit. "succession," a liturgical rite for a new saint
- dromon* the primary warship of the Byzantine navy
- exapostilarion:* a *troparion* sung near the end of the service
- irmos* a standard hymn indicating the tune to be chanted
- kanon* a structured hymn consisting of nine odes
- kathisma* (pl. *kathismata*) a type of hymn
- kleisoura* a fortified mountain pass and related military district
- kontakion* a type of hymn
- modios* a unit of dry measure for grain
- nomisma* the standard gold coin
- oikos* a short hymn; originally one of the stanzas of a *kontakion*
- sticheron* (pl. *stichera*) a type of hymn sung particularly at Matins and Vespers; a short hymn
- theotokion* a *troparion* in honour of the Virgin Mary
- troparion* a short hymn, a stanza of an ode

Persons in the PmbZ Named in the Texts

- Agatha (Romanos II's sister) *PmbZ* #20169.
- Agelastos, Leo *PmbZ* #24413.
- Alexander metropolitan of Nicaea *PmbZ* #20231.
- Anastasia/Theophano (wife of Romanos II) *PmbZ* #28125.
- Anastasios metropolitan of Heracleia *PmbZ* #20301.
- Anna (Romanos II's sister) *PmbZ* #20435.
- Argyros, Marianos *PmbZ* #24962.
- Argyros, Pothos *PmbZ* #26730?
- Basil II *PmbZ* #20838.
- Belonas, Theodore *PmbZ* #27707.
- Bringas, Joseph *PmbZ* #23529.
- Byzantios (?) *PmbZ* #21218.
- Chambdan (Sayf al-Dawla) *PmbZ* #26998.
- Choirinas [Choinos], John (grand *hetaireiarches*) *PmbZ* #23900.
- Constantine VII *PmbZ* #23734.
- Constantine VIII *PmbZ* #23735.
- Constantine (*protospatharios*, *mystikos*, eparch) *PmbZ* #23916.
- Danielis *PmbZ* #21390.
- Daphnopates, Theodore *PmbZ* #27694.
- Dermokaites (*strategos*, monk) *PmbZ* #21537.
- Diabolinos, Michael *PmbZ* #25183.
- Diogenes (*strategos*) *PmbZ* #21542.
- Erotikos, Nikephoros *PmbZ* #25583.
- Erotikos, Theophilos *PmbZ* #28154.
- Gongylios, Constantine *PmbZ* #23823.
- Gregory (*asekretis*) *PmbZ* #22411.
- Gregory (cupbearer) *PmbZ* #22405.
- Helena (first wife of Constantine Lekapenos) *PmbZ* #22575.
- Hexakionites, Nikephoros (*strategos*) *PmbZ* #25608.
- Hexamilites, Basil *PmbZ* #20972.

- John (Christian renegade) *PmbZ* #23093.
- Joseph (*spatharokandidatos*, judge) *PmbZ* #23528.
- Karamountes (emir [?] on Crete) *PmbZ* #23674.
- Katakalon, Leo *PmbZ* #24329.
- Kladon, Leo *PmbZ* #24422.
- Kosmas (*magistros*) *PmbZ* #24110.
- Kourkouas, John *PmbZ* #22917.
- Kourkouas, Romanos *PmbZ* #26852.
- Kouroupas (emir of Crete, Abd al-Aziz ibn Shu'ayb) *PmbZ* #20009.
- Kourtikes, Manuel *PmbZ* #24878.
- Krateros (father of Anastasia/Theophano) *PmbZ* #24192.
- Lekapene, Helena (wife of Constantine VII) *PmbZ* #22574.
- Lekapenos, Basil *PmbZ* #20925.
- Lekapenos, Christopher *PmbZ* #21275.
- Lekapenos, Constantine *PmbZ* #23831.
- Lekapenos, Michael *PmbZ* #25174.
- Lekapenos, Romanos I *PmbZ* #26833.
- Lekapenos, Stephen *PmbZ* #27251.
- Lekapenos, Theophylaktos *PmbZ* #28192.
- Leo VI *PmbZ* #24311.
- Maleinos, Constantine (*strategos* of Cappadocia) *PmbZ* #23862.
- Maleinos/Maleleinos (?) *PmbZ* #24849.
- Matzitzikos, Theophylaktos (*asekretis*) *PmbZ* #28224.
- Michael (*koitonites*, overseer) *PmbZ* #25246.
- Michael II the Amorian *PmbZ* #4991.
- Mouseles, Romanos (*magistros*) *PmbZ* #26844.
- Niketas (*protospatharios*, prison guard) *PmbZ* #25745.
- Pastilas, Nikephoros *PmbZ* #25606.
- Peteinos, Basil *PmbZ* #20934.
- Peter (*hegemon* on Olympos) *PmbZ* #26458.
- Philip *PmbZ* #26618.
- Phokas, Bardas *PmbZ* #20769.
- Phokas, Leo *PmbZ* #24423.
- Phokas, Nikephoros II *PmbZ* #25535.
- Photios (*patrikios*) *PmbZ* #26678.
- Polyeuktos (patriarch) *PmbZ* #26715.
- Romanos II *PmbZ* #26834.
- Romanos Saronites *PmbZ* #26843.
- Sisinios (*sakellarios*, eparch) *PmbZ* #27115.
- Sophia (wife of Christopher Lekapenos) *PmbZ* #27155.
- Symeon (*patrikios*, *protoasekretis*) *PmbZ* #27504.
- Theodora (Romanos II's sister) *PmbZ* #27604.
- Theophanes (*patrikios*, *parakoimomenos*) *PmbZ* #28087.
- Theophano/Anastasia (wife of Romanos II) *PmbZ* #28125.
- Theophano (Romanos II's sister) *PmbZ* #28126.
- Theophilos (emperor) *PmbZ* #8167.
- Thomas (*primikerios*) *PmbZ* #28299.
- Thomas the Slav *PmbZ* #8459.
- Tournikios, Leo *PmbZ* #24424.
- Tournikios, Nicholas *PmbZ* #25961.
- Tzimiskes, John I *PmbZ* #22778.
- Zaoutzes, Stylianos *PmbZ* #27406.
- Zoe (Romanos II's sister) *PmbZ* #28507.
- Zonaras (thief) *PmbZ* #28514.

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I have not included frequently occurring individuals such as Nikephoros II Phokas, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Romanos II, et al. and titles such as *domestikos*.

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